

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

VOL. II.—No. XVII.—NEW SERIES.

MAY 1, 1847.

PRICE 5d.

EMIGRATION OF COOLIES TO THE BRITISH EMANCIPATED COLONIES.

The following digest of papers (No. 691, 2, 1846), recently laid before Parliament relative to "Immigration" will show our readers the extent to which it has already been carried, and what is contemplated for the present year. In this digest we shall confine our attention to Coolie immigration alone, reserving for another opportunity, that which relates to the importation of Africans, Madeirans, and others, to the British colonies.

MAURITIUS.

According to the official report of the Committee of Council,

"The first band was introduced in August, 1834; but it was not until 1835 that any considerable number arrived. In that year, 1,341 Indians, including women and children, were introduced; in the next year (1836), the number was doubled, and reached 2,918. In 1837 it was again doubled, and reached 7,242; and in 1838 it increased still further to 11,704. During this period no restriction was placed upon the introduction of the Indians, nor upon the emigration from their native country. Each proprietor, desirous of procuring labourers, commissioned a correspondent in India to engage the required number for him. In most cases the engagements stipulated that the immigrants should remain on the employer's estate for five years, at a monthly rate of wages of five rupees, or 2½ dollars (10s.), in addition to their food, clothing, and lodging, as at present; that they should have their passage to Mauritius defrayed, and their return passage secured at the end of the period of service."

The frauds practised on the Coolies in India, where a most audacious system of kidnapping and force was used to obtain them, their infamous treatment on board ship, and the cruelties practised on them in Mauritius, compelled both the Home and the Indian Governments to forbid the further importation of these people into the island. It is admitted, however, that from 1834 to 1839, when the Coolie trade was terminated, or rather its continuance prohibited, the number of Indians introduced amounted to 25,468, exclusive of females. Of the survivors of these Coolies, about one-third are said to have returned to India at the end of their engagements; and of those who remained at Mauritius, 7,700 are represented to have re-engaged themselves as labourers.

We take the official account as it is given us by the Committee of Council, though it is our firm belief that the total number of Coolies introduced into Mauritius between 1834 and 1839, was nearer 40,000 than 25,000. The cost of introduction amounted to £250,000, and was borne by the parties interested in the labour of these Indians. The mortality connected with this immigration was immense.

Notwithstanding the experience of the British Government, and their declaration, in 1839, that "more than enough had already passed to render them decidedly hostile to every such project;" and the recorded opinion of Lord Auckland, in 1841, that "no strictness of regulation, and no vigilance on the part of the authorities, would prevent the infliction of grievous oppressions and deceits upon a large portion of persons, helpless from their poverty, and from their ignorance and inexperience;" the Government sanctioned a return to the system in 1842, under new and apparently stringent regulations to prevent abuses; but we have the testimony of Sir William Gomm, late Governor of Mauritius, that the evils formerly complained of had continued up to March, 1844, when the system of bounties to private parties was in consequence done away.

The number of Coolies imported into Mauritius, under the Order in Council of the 15th January, 1842, up to March, 1844,

was as follows:—Men, 34,339; women, 4,530; children, 1,449; making a total of 40,318. These were introduced under the bounty system, and paid out of the funds raised by general taxation. The amount expended in this service was £281,533, exclusive of about £100,000 paid by the parties who obtained the Coolies. If it be asked to what purposes the latter sum was applied, we can only answer, to agency in India for collecting the Coolies, the hire of duffadars, or crimps, fees to the captains and others connected with this disgraceful trade.

The report goes on to say:—

"The Colonial Government, at the close of 1843, adopted measures to restrict the further introduction of Indians by private parties; and subsequently took upon itself the whole expense of introducing such a number as it judged to be sufficient to meet the wants of the colony, which it has since fixed at 6,000 *per annum*, involving an expense of about £50,000, to which the planters do not directly contribute anything. It appointed an agent in Calcutta, to which port about the same time the Indian Government confined the emigration to this island, for the purpose of collecting the required number of emigrants, and of procuring them from the interior, where a more suitable class, familiar with agricultural employment, could be more easily obtained."

Under the new system, which went into effect in 1844, we find that, up to the 6th of April, 1846, the number introduced was 15,377—viz., men, 11,722; women, 2,108; children, 1,547. The mortality connected with the importation under the bounty system concluded in March, 1844, and the system at present in operation, is stated as follows:—Deaths on the passage—men, 637, women, 143; children, 64 = 844. Deaths in hospital after landing—men, 228; women, 29; children, 6 = 263. And deaths after entering service—men, 4,489; women, 332; children, 80 = 4,901. Total number of deaths, 6,008.

We have, however, a later return respecting the Coolie immigrants, which we give, as follows:—

Total population of Indians on the 1st January, 1845, from]
the first introduction in 1834, after deduction of deaths and departures from the colony..... 45,677

| | |
|---------------------------|--------|
| Arrived, 1845 :—Men | 7,677 |
| Women | 1,462 |
| Children | 1,146 |
| Total | 10,285 |

To be deducted:—

| | |
|------------------------|-------|
| Deaths :—Men | 1,241 |
| Women | 188 |
| Children | 48 |
| Departures :—Men | 1,749 |
| Women | 114 |
| Children | 24 |
| | 3,364 |
| | 6,921 |

Arrived to 31st August, 1846 :—

| | |
|----------------|-------|
| Men | 2,800 |
| Women | 808 |
| Children | 559 |
| Total | 4,167 |

To be deducted—deaths and departures :—

| | |
|----------------|-------|
| Men | 2,119 |
| Women | 295 |
| Children | 90 |
| | 2,504 |
| | 1,663 |

Total number of Indians in Mauritius on 31st Aug. 1846.. 54,261

From the foregoing statements it will be seen that the total number of Coolies imported into Mauritius is as follows:—

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------|
| From 1834 to 1839 | 25,468 |
| 1842 to March, 1844..... | 40,318 |
| March, 1844, to Dec. 1845 | 14,915 |
| January to August, 1846 | 4,167 |
| Total..... | 84,868 |

The cost of importation amounted to £750,000, and the colony stands pledged to return to India every immigrant who has been five years in the island. This of course will involve a large expenditure. But such is the nature of the system upon which the Government and the planters have entered, that they must per-force continue it, or those for whose special benefit it was begun will be ruined. To find the ways and means is confessedly a difficult thing. Already the fund accumulated for the repair and erection of the public works has been abolished; and the Immigration Fund is indebted to the Colonial Treasury not less than £270,475; and "there," to use the expressive words of Sir W. Gomm, "it stands in all its enormity, without a prospect of reduction; and when it is notorious that the community at large are sorely burdened for meeting the annual expenditure of the colony." Instead of taxing the community any further, the same functionary suggests an additional tax on exports. He says, in a despatch to Lord Stanley, dated the 8th February, 1846:—

"The position is that maintained in my reply to the body of merchants, of the 25th of February of last year; that the colony having incurred an outlay exceeding £300,000 in the direct interest of agriculture, and taking upon itself the enduring burden of introducing 6,000 additional labourers annually; contributing further, whatever excess of receipt over expenditure the sources of revenue not specially appropriated to immigration may be found to afford; *the community meanwhile sorely burdened with taxes, and great and important public works waiting only the means of carrying them into execution*; that should adventure have so far outstripped the means furnished from the various sources above specified for satisfying its needs, recourse should be had to the mode pointed out in my minute to the Council of the 1st November last, forwarded in my despatch of the 3rd of that month.

"Were such a condition not imperatively called for by the exigencies of the colony in other respects, I should still consider it indispensable, as the most effectual check that the Government has it in its power to impose upon *the most licentious speculation*."

In a subsequent despatch, dated the 18th February, 1846, Sir W. Gomm points out to Lord Stanley the source whence the great demand for immigrants proceeds, and the motives which influence it. He observes:—

"I need hardly apprise your Lordship or her Majesty's Government generally, centre in, and have their beginning and end with certain influential parties appointed by large houses of commerce in London to administer their affairs, and secure adequate returns for the large and increasing investment of capital upon estates in the island."

These great houses have brought the bulk of the planters into debt. Of course these dependents must echo the wishes of their masters. Adverting to their condition, Sir W. Gomm says:—

"These auxiliaries, in return, are for the most part rigid and exacting taskmasters. Twenty-three per cent., the price in full of their accommodation so tendered; and they press upon individuals on whom their favours are in this way conferred, with an earnestness, perhaps exceeding that with which they urge their demand upon the local Government for subscription to their party projects; and upon which I have dwelt at large in my despatch to your Lordship, of the 2nd June last, particularly towards its close."

Sir William adds:—

"At the present moment the struggle is, not so much for obtaining increase of labour as for altering the scheme of introduction, and restoring it in a measure, if not wholly, to the pernicious system of the first year; in virtue of which, large profits were made by importers (the agents and their connexions) through the process of introduction, and larger still through that of distribution; inordinate demands directly bearing upon the planters in their power. I need not recall to your Lordship's notice the promiscuous character of all these introductions, or the hardship thus entailed upon employers, both evils obviated by present regulation; and the relief from the latter grievance is almost the only mode in which Government has it in its power directly to benefit the cultivator; such is his complexity of obligation to his supporting agent." * * * * *

"The mercantile interest contributes no further at this day, when the annual produce of the soil is valued at from £1,200,000 to £1,400,000 sterling, duties reduced one-half in London, prices high, and labour abundant, if,

indeed, not sufficient, than it contributed when the returns exceeded not from £500,000 to £600,000, duties at home double, prices low, labour scanty, and wages making nearer approaches generally to seven dollars than seven rupees monthly; and this unvarying contribution is the 1s. duty upon the export of the hundred-weight of sugar, the only direct tax borne by the mercantile-agricultural interest in the colony."

The way in which the estates in Mauritius are parcelled out among the great Agency Houses, representing London firms, is thus stated by Sir W. Gomm:—Messrs. Chapman and Co., Agents, 32 estates produce 26,300,000 lbs. of sugar; H. Adam and Co., 28 estates, 13,370,000 lbs. of sugar; Hunter, Arbuthnot and Co., 13 estates, 12,300,000 lbs. of sugar; H. Barlow and Co., 15 estates, 8,250,000 lbs. of sugar; Truquez, Zoché, King, and Co., 13 estates, 6,550,000 lbs. of sugar; R. Jack and Co., 12 estates, 7,710,000 lbs. of sugar; Barbé, Lortan and Co., 13 estates, 6,450,000 lbs. of sugar. Thus we perceive, that these seven Agency Houses have no less than 128 estates under their control, on which are raised, within a few million pounds of sugar, all the exportable produce of the island. The London firms, under the appellation of "The Mauritius Association," have the ear of the Government, and to meet their demands the noble lord, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, has devised a scheme, which, if it go into operation, will as truly make the Coolies *adscripti glebae*, as if a law had been expressly passed for that purpose. As we have so lately exposed the character of the noble lord's scheme, it is unnecessary to advert to it further in this place, than to say that the last Mauritius Mail brings intelligence that whilst the planter-legislators of that colony are willing enough to adopt all the noble lord's suggestions which bear onerously and unjustly on the Coolies, they demur to that which would conditionally impose upon them a stamp duty of from 20s. to 40s. on Coolie indentures, although the proceeds of this tax is to be devoted to immigration purposes. It is painful to witness the interests of the many sacrificed to the gains of the few; yet this is the case in Mauritius at the present moment.

JAMAICA, GUIANA, AND TRINIDAD.

The following extracts from a communication of the Emigration Commissioners, dated the 18th May, 1846, will show to what extent the Government is committed to the West India body on the subject of Coolie immigration:—

"The opinion of the Indian Government in favour of re-opening emigration to the West Indies having been received at the Colonial Department on the 13th May, 1844, the agent at Calcutta was on the 7th July following, instructed by the Secretary of State that he might despatch 5,000 Coolies; but the West India Committee and different gentlemen interested in the West India colonies, having earnestly urged a larger emigration, Lord Stanley further consented to appoint an agent for Madras (Captain Wilson); and on the 3rd July, 1844, Mr. Caird and Captain Wilson were instructed that the following numbers might be sent, to be divided between Calcutta and Madras, as circumstances might render expedient:—

| | |
|---------------|--------|
| Jamaica | 5,000 |
| Guiana | 5,000 |
| Trinidad..... | 2,500 |
| | 12,500 |

"Owing to different reasons (of which the scarcity of shipping in India was one) only a trifling proportion of these numbers was actually supplied in 1844.

"In June and July, 1845, the West India Committee urged the necessity of engaging in England a large part of the requisite shipping for that year, and requested that besides the balance of the emigration sanctioned in the previous year, 5,000 additional Coolies should be allotted for British Guiana and 2,500 for Trinidad. To this measure Lord Stanley assented. He agreed that the Indian agents should be authorized to despatch 16,000 Coolies in all, and that tonnage for half the amount should be engaged by the Emigration Commissioners in England. The account stood as follows:—

| | Jamaica. | British Guiana. | Trinidad. |
|----------------------------------|----------|--------------------|-----------|
| Number authorized for 1844 | 2,000 | 5,000 | 2,500 |
| Assumed to be sent..... | 250 | 556 | 220 |
| Balance..... | 1,750 | 4,444 | 2,280 |
| Addition | nil. | 5,056 | 2,470 |
| TOTAL authorized for 1845..... | 1,750 | 9,500 | 4,750 |

"Of the numbers thus authorized in the summer of 1845, the following appear to be the portions that the agents have in fact succeeded in despatching:—

| | Authorized to be sent. | Actually despatched. | Balance not sent at the close of the Season. |
|---------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--|
| Jamaica | 1,750 | 1,735 | nil. |
| British Guiana..... | 9,500 | 3,497 | 6,002 |
| Trinidad | 4,750 | 2,083 | 2,666 |
| | 16,000 | 7,315 | 8,668 |

* * * * *

,, JAMAICA.—By a despatch from Lord Elgin, dated 19th November, 1845, it appears that the Assembly have agreed to the following resolution:—"This house pledges itself to meet the outlay consequent on the introduction of 5,000 Coolies from India into this island in the ensuing year."

"The funds already granted by the Immigration Act lately received (No. 3678) amount to £75,000, out of which, however, various payments will have to be made for emigrants who will have arrived in the colony since the Act passed, the particulars of which liabilities cannot be accurately ascertained.

BRITISH GUIANA.—From this colony, the latest resolution of the Court of Policy appears to be one enclosed in Governor Light's despatch of the 31st May, 1845, in which, with reference to a former pledge to provide for 5,000 Coolies, the Court of Policy apply for 5,000 more Coolies, and pledge themselves to provide for the same. Governor Light's despatch of the 2nd September, 1845, points to the Loan Ordinance as the means of fulfilling these pledges. This Ordinance, although it provides that the bonds shall not bear a higher interest than 5 per cent., does not limit the price at which the bonds bearing that interest may be issued. Of the whole number of 9,500 Coolies sanctioned by the Secretary of State in former years for Guiana, it has been seen above, that about 6,500 have not yet been sent.

TRINIDAD.—In a very recent despatch, dated 16th March, 1846, Sir Henry M'Leod, after alluding to a deputation which had called on him, requests that besides the number of emigrants expected last year, 2,500 may be supplied this year. Now it has been seen that of the amount authorized last year, much more than 2,500 could not be supplied. If, therefore, Sir Henry M'Leod's present application were fully complied with, 5,000 emigrants would be required for Trinidad.

By Sir Henry M'Leod's despatch of the 29th August, 1845, it appears that in this island, as in Guiana, the source looked to for the requisite funds is the Loan Ordinance. But it is right to mention that in the case of Trinidad, the law provides not only that the interest must not exceed 5 per cent., but that the bonds bearing that interest must not be issued at less than par.

The foregoing statement shows the demands of the three colonies for Coolie labourers, the extent to which those demands have been complied with, and the means adopted by the local Legislatures for obtaining the required supplies. Now that fresh arrangements are about to be entered into, involving a further expenditure, it seems to be a convenient opportunity to bring under the consideration of the Secretary of State another point connected with this service which ought not to be lost sight of.

Experience shows the average cost per head of every Coolie labourer imported into the West Indies, exclusive of the charge for the return passage, to be about £18. Assuming this to be the average, then the liabilities that will have been incurred by the immigration of the past season will be as follows:—

| No. of Emigrants. | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1,735 | Jamaica £31,230 |
| 3,497 | British Guiana 62,946 |
| 2,083 | Trinidad 37,494 |

But these liabilities are exclusive of the charges of conveying back to India the time expired labourers. It is difficult to foresee how many will claim their return passages; but whatever the proportion may be, it is plain that a heavy demand must eventually arise on this account, and unless some means can be taken in the interval to raise part of the necessary funds, the colonies will have to submit to increased taxation exactly at the time they are losing the services of the people by whose labour they hope to defray the cost of their introduction. Whether such an evil can be averted by moderate taxes imposed contemporaneously with the development of the resources of the colonies whilst the labourers are still in the West Indies, of which taxes the produce might form a fund to defray their back-passages, involves questions of much difficulty, to which we can do no more than draw attention.

Having thus supplied a review of all the past measures on the subject, and adverted to some of the financial considerations connected with it, it only remains for us to apply for instructions whether or not we are to proceed to engage, as requested by the West India Committee, for the conveyance of 10,000 Coolies, or whether we may commence with the

engagement at once of shipping for some part of the number, so as to be in time for the earlier parts of the season."

Mr. Secretary Gladstone having given his sanction to the proposal of the West India Committee, the Commissioners proceeded forthwith to engage the requisite number of vessels, amounting to thirty-three for this service, and issued instructions to the agents at Calcutta and Madras to take up shipping for the remaining portion of the Coolies to be forwarded during the season of 1846-47. They are to be distributed in the following manner:—

| | |
|--------------------------|--------|
| To Jamaica | 5,000 |
| British Guiana | 6,000 |
| Trinidad | 4,000 |
| | 15,000 |

The cost of the previous importations of 8,341 Coolies into those colonies amounted to £150,138, whilst that of the present season will reach to £270,000, besides the expenditure that must be incurred at the end of five years in sending them back. No wonder the outlines of this system of immigration should, at length, open the eyes of Government to its impolicy. But, what must we think of the wisdom of the West India body, in proposing, or of the Government in acceding to so monstrous a scheme for supplying these colonies with foreign labour? We can understand the West Indian body reasoning thus:—"To be sure, it will cost a vast sum of money to introduce Coolies into the colony; but then we shall bear no part of the burden; ours will be the gain upon the transaction whoever may lose. First, we shall gain—such of us as have shipping—by the bounties paid on importation; secondly, we shall gain by the reduction in the rate of wages the Coolies will effect; and, thirdly, we shall gain by the management of the loans that must be raised to carry this transaction into effect. Besides which, when we have done with the Coolies, they will be sent back, not at our expense, but at the expense of those whose means were heavily taxed to import them." We confess, however, that we cannot understand why the Government should have consented to a measure so flagrantly unjust. Political reasons, perhaps party reasons, may have had their influence; but, whatever may have been the controlling motive, we know, and we rejoice in it, the scheme must come to an end. The respectful remonstrances of the independent colonists and of the emancipated classes have been of no avail, neither with the local authorities, nor with the Home Government; but a voice, more potent than even that of the West Indian body—that of necessity—has at length forced the conviction on our rulers that Coolie immigration into the West Indies must cease.

The necessary order was given by Mr. Gladstone, and above thirty vessels were chartered by the Commissioners for this service, besides those ordered to be freighted with Coolies direct from Madras and Calcutta—say about fifteen more. In what will this end?

PROPOSED SYSTEM OF EDUCATION FOR THE BRITISH COLONIES.

The following important circular despatch has been forwarded to the Governors of the British Colonies. It was accompanied with a series of suggestions, for which we have no space, drawn up by Mr. Kay Shuttleworth. The proposal of Government is creating great dissatisfaction in the colonies.

Downing-street, 26th January, 1847.

SIR,—During the short period which has elapsed since my accession to office, I have repeatedly had occasion to communicate to the Governors of West India colonies my sentiments on the subject of the education of the labouring classes; and it would not be easy for me to express to you the anxiety which I feel to omit nothing which Her Majesty's Government can contribute towards that object; no opportunity of rendering experience obtained at home available in the West Indies; and, above all, no means of inspiring the influential classes, and through them the entire communities, with the feelings with which such subjects are regarded in this country, by all who take an interest in its well-being. It is impossible to look at the state of things in the West Indies, arising, as it does, out of unexampled changes, and tending, no doubt, to momentous issues of one kind or another, without perceiving that the education of the Negro race is the great means by which emancipation may be made to result, not merely in exemption from physical sufferings and brutalizing

oppressions, but in a moral and spiritual freedom, resting on a stronger foundation than of human laws, and comprehending an advancement in Christian virtues and happiness, to which human laws can but very imperfectly contribute, except through the channel of education and religious instruction.

This work will be carried forward in the West Indies, as elsewhere, by the influence of the higher motives of human nature, and by the devotedness of those who know in what the true welfare of a country consists, and who will labour for its moral and spiritual enlightenment. But if it be necessary to appeal to lower motives also, it would be perhaps impossible to adduce an instance of any country in which the agricultural and commercial prospects were so absolutely dependent on the instruction of the lower orders, as those of the West Indies are at this time. Instruction not only makes labour intelligent and orderly, but creates new wants and desires, new activities, a love of employment, and an increased alacrity both of the body and the mind; and there is probably no example of a well-instructed population which is not also active and eager for work. Instruction, therefore, where provision shall be made for imparting it speedily and effectually, may be rendered the most certain of all methods for equalizing the supply of labour with the demand; and, on the other hand, the prosperity which a sufficient supply of labour would create, may well be expected, by promoting scientific and mechanical improvements, and retaining amongst the Negroes a cultivated and intelligent race of proprietors to assist civil order and the advancement of all classes.

The circumstances of the West India colonies have led my predecessors in office, and also some persons of activity and influence in the colonies, to perceive how essential it is that the system of education adopted there should be of an industrial character; and whilst this cannot but be esteemed by all promoters of popular education to be an important element, it is, moreover, one which would probably obtain for the system the support and assistance of some parties who would not be equally quick to discern the more general bearings of education upon industry. For more reasons than one, therefore, on account of the prospects of education in general, as well as in regard to the specific deficiency, I have been sorry to observe the little progress which has been made in imparting an industrial character in the schools in the West Indies; and in considering what means Her Majesty's Government possess of giving some additional impulse to West India education, I have thought that possibly some good might be effected by disseminating in the West Indies such knowledge of industrial systems as the experience of this country could afford, in so far as it might appear to be applicable to the state of society in the colonies; and, at my request, a communication on the subject has been addressed to this department, by direction of the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council on Education.

I transmit to you herewith a copy of the communication. You will find it to contain a full statement of the points which it is considered most material to keep in view in the establishment of industrial day schools and normal schools, and of the methods by which the former at least may be made, to a great degree, if not altogether, self-supporting.

In countries where food is so cheap as in the West Indies, and labour so dear, there must be peculiar facilities for enabling industrial schools to pay a proportion of their expenses, unless the children be taken away from them at a very early age; and if, as the industrial system contemplates, the principal part of the children's food be provided at school from the produce of their own labour, their parents will no longer have the same motives which they now have for withdrawing them from school prematurely, to cultivate provision grounds, or otherwise earn their livelihood. It is true, no doubt, that in some cases their labour may not accrue to the plantations at so early a period, owing to their longer continuance at school; but the loss will be amply recompensed, as soon as their labour does accrue, by the steadier industry and the skill and knowledge which it will be the object of the schools to produce.

If practicable, it would of course be exceedingly desirable, that, besides the gardens or provision grounds proposed in the letter from the Committee of Privy Council to be attached to the schools, there should be some ground cultivated with canes, or other staples of exportable produce, so that the children may be exercised in that species of cultivation in which it will be, generally speaking, most expedient that they should be afterwards employed;

and if the project of establishing central sugar mills should be successfully carried out (as I trust it may), the instruction thus afforded will fit them for all the work which, under a system of manufacturing sugar, would have to be performed on the plantations. If that project should not be accomplished, I conceive that the canes would still be saleable at the sugar mills of the neighbouring plantations.

But to whatever extent the schools might succeed or fail in bearing their own expenses, I cannot but indulge the hope that the legislatures of the colonies will acknowledge the paramount importance of causing such schools to be established, and will make such provision as may be required for that purpose. And if it were necessary to raise money by a new impost, I should not object, on the part of the Crown, to a tax falling directly on the people at large, provided the proceeds were made exclusively applicable to the education of their children; nor should I, indeed, be averse to any well considered law, *which should constrain the parents of children not exceeding a specified age, to send such children to school (under a penalty for neglecting to do so, unless for cause shown), and to pay a specified sum for their schooling.* The choice of the school should be left, of course, to the parents; provided, only, it were certified by some public functionary, to be appointed for the purpose, or by some minister of the gospel, to be a school competently conducted.

I annex printed copies of the communication from the Committee of Privy Council on Education, in sufficient numbers to enable you to transmit copies to the bishop of the diocese, and to all members of the Legislature, ministers of the gospel, stipendiary magistrates, and other parties to whom you may see fit to send them.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) GREY.

FRANCE.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE FRENCH CHAMBER OF PEERS IN RELATION TO SLAVERY.

On the 30th ult. a report was made to the French Chamber of Peers on certain petitions, signed by upwards of 3,000 persons, for the complete abolition of slavery in the French Colonies. M. le Compte Bengnot was the reporter. The petitioners declared that the slavery of the Negroes was a crime; that no law could either render it legitimate or extenuate it; that against right there can be no right; that slavery being contrary to the divine law, which declares all men equal, no human law ought to be permitted to prevail. The petitioners further declared that every attempt to ameliorate the condition of slaves had proved illusory, and that the law of the 18th July, 1845, with the ordinances published since that period, is not likely to prove more efficacious than those which preceded it, because the nature of things is stronger than the will of the legislator. Pagan slavery might be modified—colonial slavery could not be: it must be abolished, or it would perpetuate itself. The petitioners prayed the Chamber to fix an epoch for its absolute abolition, speedy and precise, if not immediate.

The petition was signed, amongst other eminent persons, by the Bishop of Nancy, and by a great number of ecclesiastics in his diocese, and in that of Paris, besides many pastors of the Reformed Church, mayors, councillors of the municipalities, electors, &c. &c.

The report, after setting forth the character of the petitions, and their great object, states, that the Government and the Chambers have proved their firm determination, conformably to the will of the country at large, to cause slavery to disappear from the colonies. To arrive at this result two ways were open to them. France might follow the example of England, that is to say, might give the planters a large and just indemnity, and fix the period when slavery should cease; or she might, without seeking the immediate realization of her design, prepare for the accomplishment of this great act of justice, by ameliorating the physical and moral state of the slaves, initiating them by little and little in the enjoyment of civil rights and family habits; communicating to them the power of possessing property, the taste for labour and order; rendering, in short, their servitude less rigorous, and their enfranchisement by purchase more easy, and by these means pre-

paring for the final abolition of slavery, without damage to the interests of the colonists, or the interruption of the peace and the prosperity of the colonies. France has chosen the latter mode of securing its object; yet should the progressive abolition of slavery falsify the hopes of the Chamber, humanity, justice, and the solemn engagements it had made, would compel it to adopt the plan recommended in the petitions.

The report then goes on to state, that notwithstanding the opposition of the colonies, they had yielded to the necessities of the case, with one exception only. It further states, that the ordinances relating to the compulsory purchase of slaves, to their religious and elementary instruction, to their nourishment, and the discipline to which they are to be subjected, have been executed, according to the information laid before the Chamber by the Government, without encountering any other obstacle than that which arose from the attempt to conciliate opposing interests. The report then recommends to the Minister of Marine and Colonies, firmness and circumspection in the application of the law; and suggests that, without abating the prescriptions, it should be carried into effect by judicious management; that the functionaries selected to carry it out, should be chosen from those whose views are conformable to those of the Government, and who would act with moderation, but not with feebleness; and that the various measures contemplated by the law of 1845 should be executed.

The report, in conclusion, whilst rendering justice to the motives of the petitioners, proposes to the Chamber to pass to the order of the day.

In opposing this recommendation, the COUNT DE MONTALEMBERT delivered a long and eloquent speech, which we regret it is not in our power to give at length. M. de Montalembert proposed that the petitions should be laid before Government, that it might avail itself of the lights which they contained, for the time would come when the Chamber would have to legislate in accordance with them. The Count was not satisfied with the reports laid before the Chamber on the subject of compulsory manumission. In referring to the religious organization of the colonies, he stated, that he had to present a petition from the Catholic clergy of the diocese of Paris and Versailles, 155 in number, composed of vicars-general, canons, and other dignified ecclesiastics, who, at the instance of the chief of the Catholic Church, had pronounced against the continuance of slavery. In speaking of the colonial clergy, the Count declared his convictions that they were not acting up to their high mission, and contrasted them with those in the British colonies, to whom he paid a suitable compliment.

M. DE MONTALEMBERT was followed by Baron CHARLES DUPIN, the paid agent of the colonies, who entered into an elaborate defence of the *status quo*. He demanded of the Chamber that the passions of the colonists should not be inflamed, by its admission of the doctrine of immediate emancipation, which could not be realized in the present state of the Treasury. M. Dupin denied that slavery was a crime, and reproduced the usual arguments on this head; and by giving a false translation of certain portions of Paul's Epistle to Philemon, endeavoured to prove that the great Apostle of the Gentiles recognised the rights of the master over his slave. In conclusion he supported the motion to pass to the order of the day.

M. LE BARON DE BASSIERE supported the plan of emancipation now in force. He argued against the petitions, that if emancipation was slow in its progress, it would be certain in its results. He regretted to see a new doctrine springing up, which, under the pretext of conducting them to a more rapid abolition of slavery, would have, in reality, as its effect, the repeal of the laws now in force. He deprecated the new movement, because of its supposed influence on the slaves, whose progress would be impeded thereby. He said, that it was not in favour of but against emancipation that the petitions were directed; for their intervention would lead but to two consequences equally disastrous, namely, to destroy the confidence of the planters, and to turn away the slaves from their proper labour. After expressing his opinion in favour of the measures already adopted, he declared himself in favour of the order of the day.

M. LE MARQUIS DE GABRIAEL called attention to the fact, that by the law of July, 1845, 400,000f. was placed at the disposition of the Minister of the Colonies, to aid in the redemption of slaves; but that now, in 1847, only 270,000f. were demanded. It was to be regretted that a larger sum were not demanded to redeem the victims of the cruelty practised on them by their

masters. He wished the Minister of the Colonies to say, why so small a sum was now demanded, when they should do all they could to accelerate the epoch of emancipation.

M. LE BARON MACKAU, Minister of Marine and Colonies, replied, that in effect 260,000f. was the amount applied to this service in 1847, and that 270,000f. were asked for this year's service. The Baron opposed the doctrine of the petitioners as perilous in the extreme; they wanted slavery to be abolished immediately; they would that those who retired to sleep at night as slaves, should awake next morning as freemen! The result of such a measure would be the overthrow of established order: it would menace the existence and compromise the fortunes of the colonists. The measures adopted would lead to sure results. M. de Mackau complained of the time selected by the petitioners to broach their doctrines, just eighteen months after the promulgation of the law of 1845, and at the time when the Government had just laid before the Chambers the results of last year's experience, the number of manumissions for the year 1846 were 50 per cent. more than in 1845. He stated that not only were the slaves acting with great propriety and order, but were devoting themselves with increased energy to work, that they might secure the means to purchase their freedom. The petitioners would terminate this happy state of things for another the most dangerous that could be imagined. Referring to that part of the petitions, in which the question of indemnity to the planters is left for consideration, M. le Baron said this single fact, which places in doubt the property of our compatriots, which introduces into this question the most dangerous of all incertitudes, suffices to compel me to demand of the Chamber, in the strongest terms, to pass to the order of the day.

M. LE PRINCE DE LA MOSKOWA applauded with all his heart the language, so full of moderation and prudence, of the Minister of Marine. He hoped that the Government would elsewhere act in the same manner.

The amendment of M. le Comte de Montalembert was put to the vote and lost.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

On the 24th of April last, M. PAUL DE GASPARIN presented to the Chamber of Deputies the report of the Commission on the petitions which had been presented to the Chamber in favour of the immediate abolition of slavery in the French colonies.

The report states that the petitions were signed by upwards of 11,000 persons, among whom were three bishops, nineteen vicars-general, 858 curés, vicars, or priests, eighty-six presidents of consistories and pastors of the Reformed Protestant Church, seven members of the Institute, 151 elective councillors, 213 magistrates and members of the bar and more than 9,000 electors, merchants, proprietors, and workmen. The petitions had been presented from Paris, Lyons, Grenoble, Guadeloupe, Toulouse, Nancy, Versailles, Nismes, St. Quentin, Montauban, Fontainbleau, Castres, Metz, Alby, Calmont, Gebel, Réalmont, St. Martin et Lafitte, Vabre et Brassac, Puylaurens, Mazères, Samatan, Uzés, Mens, Saerdun, St. Antonin, Strasbourg, &c. The petitions demanded the immediate abolition of slavery, with such delay only as would be necessary to secure peace and order in the transition from slavery to freedom. The petitions were expressed in terms the most suitable and dignified, were filled with the most generous sentiments, and treated the question in so elevated a point of view, as would secure the sympathies of the Chambers.

In commenting on the petitions, the report does not agree with their conclusions. It states that however just and holy their demands, the means to secure it did not exist. The financial state of France was the great obstacle.

The report then glanced at the manner in which the laws of 1845 had been carried into effect, from which it appears, ordinances had been issued to enforce compulsory manumission; to limit corporal punishment; to give the slaves a civil *status*, so that they might possess property; to enforce elementary and religious instruction; and to organize free labour. Some of these measures were intended to ameliorate the condition of the slaves; and others, to prepare them for emancipation. There were yet, however, ordinances required:—

1. "To secure the slaves—persons not free, as they are now to be termed—the rights of marriage; and 2nd, to preserve and employ, for their benefit, the property belonging to slave-minors."

The report expresses regret that the measures adopted had not yet produced any appreciable effect; that it did not expect that compulsory manumission would lead to the abolition of slavery, and that hitherto the children of slaves had received no instruction; but trusted that, if time were allowed, the vigour of Government would do what was necessary to

accomplish the object of the Chamber—namely, the emancipation of the slaves.

In conclusion, the report recommends that the petitions should be placed in the hands of the President of the Council, and the Minister of Marine and Colonies.

M. JOLLIVET, the paid advocate of the colonists, in a long but moderate speech, combatted the conclusions of the report. His object was to show that *immediate* emancipation was impossible. By an ingenious collocation of passages from the report of the Duc de Broglie, M. Agenor de Gasparin, M. Schelcher, he made it appear that they were with him in opinion; but he chiefly rested his opposition on the recent declarations of the Minister of Marine and Colonies in the Chamber of Peers, that immediate emancipation could not take place.

In the course of his speech, M. Jollivet took particular notice of the way in which the question of indemnity to the planters had been referred to in the petitions. In them, he said, for the first time, the right and the necessity for it had been questioned. The petitions had denounced slavery as a crime. "If," said the orator, "slavery be a crime, it is a universal crime; if it be a crime, it is the crime of France; France encouraged the slave-trade, not only by pecuniary recompenses, but by honorary rewards. If the slave-trade has existed, and slavery has been established in the colonies, it is by the authority of the mother country; and if she would now destroy it she can; but in doing so, she would commit an iniquity, if she did not indemnify the colonists."

M. Jollivet stated a gratifying fact—namely, that notwithstanding the difficulties which had been put in the way of the growth and manufacture of indigenous sugar, it was increasing in quantity. In 1843-4 the beet-root sugar amounted to 27,868,000 kilogrammes; in 1844-5 it rose to 36,457,000 kilogrammes; in 1845-6 it amounted to 36,105,737 kilogrammes; but that in 1846-7 it had increased to 49,264,678 kilogrammes, and the year had not yet terminated.

M. Jollivet said there were, at the present time, in the French colonies, not less than 100,000 enfranchised slaves, or their descendants; that few of them would do any work; and that a law for the suppression of vagabondage was required. He considered, also, that all slaves purchasing their freedom under the new laws, should be compelled to labour five years on the plantations, after their manumission. He stated that in consequence of the new measures the labour of the slaves had diminished; that if the absence of trouble and anarchy was order, it existed in the colonies; but that order in its true sense did not exist; and that as in Bourbon, so in Cayenne, Martinique, labour had everywhere diminished. In Martinique the new measures had been followed with grievous results; that the slaves opposed a passive resistance to the operation of the law, and that labour was in consequence paralyzed. In Guadeloupe, things had been equally bad; but the relaxation in the discipline of the estates had, thanks to the vigour of the proprietors and the assistance of the authorities, been overcome. The severest measures were required to effect this. In conclusion, M. Jollivet moved, as an amendment on the report, the order of the day.

M. JULES DE LASTEYRIE, in an admirable speech, which was listened to with deep attention by the Chamber, supported the proposition contained in the report. We can only present an analysis of this masterly discourse. M. de Lasteyrie affirmed that not a single article of the law of 1845 had been completely carried into effect. In 1839, funds for the elementary and religious instruction of the slaves had been voted, and the votes from that time, for the same purpose, amounted to 3,900,000f.; but that only twelve slave children had received instruction. Schools had been built, but the authorities took care the children of slaves should not enjoy the advantage. In reference to the marriages of slaves, there was no improvement. The sexes lived still in promiscuous concubinage. Education and marriage are destructive of slavery. All that can moralize the heart and elevate the intelligence is, therefore, met with determined hostility by the colonists. In reference to compulsory manumission, M. de Lasteyrie showed that it could not take place to any great extent; for the colonists had so limited the amount of land set apart for the support of the slaves, that they could scarcely live off its produce, much less lay by a sum of money to purchase their freedom. The law was by this scandalous means defeated. The honourable deputy instanced at length the various ways in which the Colonial Councils had nullified the intentions of the law of 1845.

In relation to the treatment of slaves, and the administration of justice, or rather its infamous prostitution, M. de Lasteyrie entered into the most painful details. He showed from public records that the murder of slaves, under the most atrocious circumstances, was only followed by short imprisonment. Of the Colonial Magistracy, 138 in number, M. de Lasteyrie showed that sixty were Creoles possessed of slaves; eighteen from France, married to Creoles possessed of slaves; sixty others from the mother country, some of whom were possessed of estates. The proprietors of estates are the magistrates. He further showed that the members of the Cours-Royales were for the most part Creole proprietors of slaves, or persons devoted to their interests; and that the appointments of the Government were all favourable to the existing

state of things. The facts produced by M. de Lasteyrie created the greatest sensation in the Chamber.

M. MACKAU, the Minister of Marine and Colonies, entered into some explanations to remove the effect produced by the speech of M. de Lasteyrie, but in vain. He intimated his intention to support the amendment of M. Jollivet. He said that if the Chamber agreed to adopt the recommendation of the report, it would impede the progress of the law of 1845. The debate was adjourned to Monday, the 26th inst., when M. Mackau would speak further on the amendment; and M. Ledru-Rollin, and others, in support of the conclusions of the report.

MONDAY, 26TH APRIL, 1847.

The debate on the petitions relating to the abolition of slavery was commenced by

M. LACROSSE, in answer to the Minister of Marine. It was an argument addressed to the reason of the Deputies which contained a review of the steps taken by the Chambers with a view to the abolition of slavery in the French colonies. He reminded M. De Makau of the circular addressed by the Government to the colonies in 1840, in which the Minister distinctly stated, that "emancipation had been resolved in principle; and that they were consulted, not upon the principle, but upon the mode, for giving it effect." He was followed by

M. LAVAVASEUR, who, whilst declaring himself the friend of emancipation, and the enemy to slavery, used his utmost effort to prevent the petitions from being lodged with the Ministers. The great speech of the day was then delivered by

M. LEDRU-ROLLIN, who, after reviewing the course of the colonists, which he demonstrated to have been most disgraceful, and the practice of the Colonial Minister to have been blameworthy, if not illegal, he directed the attention of the Chambers to a series of revolting facts which clearly showed there was no justice to be had for the slaves in the French colonies. His address was most able, convincing, and brilliant, and procured for him the felicitations of men of all parties in the Chambers. M. Ledru-Rollin declared himself, without hesitation or reserve, the friend of immediate emancipation.

M. JOLLIVET, the paid delegate of the colonies, attempted to reply, but in vain. The Chamber would not hear him.

M. DE MACKAU, Minister for the Colonies, then addressed the Chamber. He did not attempt to deny the serious allegations contained in M. Ledru-Rollin's speech, but it had the effect of provoking

M. DUPIN AINÉ to address the Chamber, which he did with great dignity and effect in support of the recommendation of the report on the petitions.

M. DE GASPARIN defended the report, and in paying a just tribute to the eloquence of M. Ledru-Rollin he said, that his exposure of the crimes committed on the slaves in the colonies was the just and legitimate vengeance of outraged public morals.

M. ODILON BARROT concluded the discussion in a short but excellent address, and the conclusions of the report having been fully sustained by the Chamber, the petitions were formally ordered to be placed in the hands of the President of the Council, the Minister of Marine and Colonies, and the Minister of Justice. Thus terminated one of the greatest discussions on the subject of slavery and its abolition which ever took place in the French Chambers.

ILLUSTRATION OF SLAVERY IN THE FRENCH COLONIES.

The gentlemen of Guadeloupe would equal, even in their crimes, the Lords of Martinique. The impunity which they enjoy in their respective colonies gives rise to the most deplorable consequences.

On the 13th of March last, the tribunal at Basse-Terre was called upon to raise a corner of the veil which hides the bloody horrors of slavery. Notwithstanding the shame we feel in writing such things, we consider it a public duty to reveal them, were it for no other purpose than to show that the Chambers have no real cause for congratulation, in the laws which they have passed to ameliorate the condition of the slave, and the imperative necessity which exists for putting a term to his sufferings.

On the 19th of October, 1846, the slave Michel, belonging to plantation Loral, situated in Marie Galante, though he had been eight months ill with *mal d'estomac*, was compelled to work in the field with the other negroes. The employment of Michel was illegal, the law of the 4th of June, 1846, having withdrawn the sick from that kind of labour. M. Filias Boulogne, the manager of the plantation, ordered Michel to go for some purpose to the extremity of the estate. Michel set off running, but in returning back out of breath, fell into a swoon, a thing of frequent occurrence with those subject to his complaint. M. F. Boulogne called to the driver, who always carried the whip, a thing forbidden by the

ordinance of the 4th of June, and commanded him to whip the poor slave, saying, "Whip hard, let me see his blood." All the witnesses summoned before the tribunal deposed to the use of these words.

In obedience to orders, the driver flogged Michel until the blood flowed from the wounds occasioned by the whip, yet the poor wretch remained insensible. He was left in this state, and a Negro ordered to watch him until he recovered his senses. The cool air of the evening recalled him to life, and he was taken to the hospital. Some days after he contrived to escape, and lodged a complaint against the manager, but was sent back to the estate until the process against him should commence. There he was put to work again, and died in about three months.

Often, notwithstanding the ordinance of the 4th of June, Boulogne put a mask made of tinplate on the face of Michel to prevent him (so he said) from eating dirt, a thing sometimes practised by those subject to his complaint.

The facts connected with this case were the occasion of the appearance of Boulogne before the *Police Correctionnelle* of Basse-Terre.

It appeared from the report of M. Bret, the doctor, that the flogging inflicted on Michel had cut into his flesh and injured its tissues, but that only one wound appeared.

The first witness called was the driver. After being sworn, he deposed as follows:—"M. Boulogne told me to strike Michel hard, or he would whip me: he would see his blood. Michel was not protected by clothes, having neither shirt nor trousers on, but simply a piece of cotton round his middle. During the time I flogged him he did not move; he was as a dead man." In answer to the question, "Why did the manager order him to be flogged?" he replied, "Because he believed Michel had feigned to be in a swoon. He (the driver) had frequently seen Michel swoon before. The number of blows he gave was twenty-four. He had seen Michel wear the mask, but had never seen him attempt to eat dirt. He did not hear Michel offer any impertinences to M. Boulogne on the day of his punishment."

The depositions of the other witnesses were similar to that of the driver. The court ordered Michel to be called, but the usher said "He is dead," which excited some emotion in those who were present.

The defendant did not attempt to deny the facts of the case; and after some remarks on it by the president, he was condemned to fifteen days' imprisonment only!

It should be observed, that the law of the 4th of June requires that the slaves should be kept decently clothed; and that not more than fifteen strokes of the whip should be inflicted at one time.

In commenting on this savage case *La Reforme* observes, "Each arrival from the colonies brings new cases to our knowledge of the barbarous cruelty inflicted on the slaves by means of the whip, yet M. Mackau will not hear of its abandonment. How long shall these things endure? It is now twenty-two months since the Chamber passed laws to suppress the crimes which slavery engenders. Since that time, notwithstanding the indulgence of the legal functionaries and the criminal tribunals, how many cases, equal in atrocity to that of M. Filiar Boulogne, have they not registered! How many barbarities inflicted on the slaves have they not treated with a mildness insulting to justice and to humanity! The Chambers ought, instead of passing to the order of the day, to pronounce themselves on the petitions signed by 10,800 Frenchmen, who demand the abolition of slavery, in its favour. The dignity and the honour of the country, and the interests of civilization, demand this at their hands."

ILLUSTRATION OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

The following letter is from the pen of Dr. Harvey, of Chaddford, Pennsylvania, and was addressed to the Editor of the *Freeman*:—

DEAR SIR—Myself and two others lately visited the eastern part of Virginia, to see the cheap lands, much talked of now in agricultural articles, and there saw a slave auction. My friends were not abolitionists before, and pitied my credulity when I told them the horrors of slavery; but one week in the Old Dominion has added two stanch adherents to our cause. I wish every pro-slavery man and woman in the north could witness one slave auction.

We attended a sale of land and other property near Petersburg,

and unexpectedly saw slaves sold at public auction. The slaves were told that they would not be sold, and were collected in front of the quarters, gazing on the assembled multitude. The land being sold, the auctioneer's loud voice was heard, "Bring up the niggers." A shade of astonishment and affright passed over their faces, as they stared first at each other, and then at the crowd of purchasers, whose attention was now directed to them. When the horrible truth was revealed to their minds that they were to be sold, and nearest relations and dearest friends parted for ever, the effect was indescribably agonizing. Women snatched up their babes, and ran screaming into the huts. Children hid themselves behind the huts and trees, and the men stood in mute despair. The auctioneer stood on the portico of the house, and the "men and boys" were ranged in the yard for inspection. It was announced that no warranty of soundness was given, and purchasers must examine for themselves. A few old men were sold at prices from \$13 to \$25, and it was painful to see old men bowed with years of toil and suffering, stand up to the jest of brutal tyrants, and to hear them tell of their disease and worthlessness, fearing that they would be bought by traders for the southern markets.

A white boy, about twelve years old, was placed on the stand. His hair was brown and straight, his skin exactly the same hue as other white persons, and no discoverable trace of Negro features in his countenance.

Some coarse and vulgar jests were passed on his colour, and \$200 was bid for him, but the auctioneer said "that it was not enough to begin on for such a likely young nigger!" Several remarked that they "would not have him as a gift." Some said a white nigger was more trouble than he was worth. One man said it was wrong to sell white people. I asked him if it was more wrong than to sell black people? He made no reply. Before he was sold, his mother rushed from the house upon the portico, crying in frantic grief, "My son, ho, my boy, they will take away my dear —." Her voice was lost, as she was rudely pushed back, and the door closed. The sale was for a moment interrupted, and none of the crowd of ruthless tyrants appeared to be in the least degree affected by the scene. The poor boy, afraid to cry before so many strangers, who showed no signs of sympathy or pity, trembled and wiped the tears from his cheeks with his sleeves. He was sold for about \$250. The monsters who tore this child from his mother would sell your child and mine if they had the power. During the sale, the quarters resounded with cries and lamentations that made my heart ache. A woman was next called by name. She gave her infant one wild embrace before leaving it with an old woman, and hastened mechanically to obey the call, but stopped, threw her arms aloft, screamed, and was unable to move.

One of my companions touched my shoulder, and said, "Come, let us leave here, I can bear no more." We left the ground. The man who drove our carriage from Petersburgh had two sons who belonged to the estate—small boys. He obtained a promise that they should not be sold. He was asked if they were his only children? He answered, "All that is left of eight. Three others have been sold to the south, and he would never see or hear from them again."

As northern people do not see such things, they should hear of them often enough to keep them awake to the sufferings of the victims of their indifferences.

VIEWS OF MR. CALHOUN AND HIS PARTY AS TO THE EXTENSION OF SLAVERY BY THE UNITED STATES.

The citizens of Charleston have held a great meeting to welcome Mr. Calhoun home again. Among the officers of the meeting were some of the most distinguished men of South Carolina. Colonel J. W. Hayne, from a committee of twenty-one, made a report, in which the anti-slavery demonstrations of the north and of its representatives in Congress, were denounced in no measured terms. Slavery is declared to be the foundation on which, not only southern, but the national prosperity is built. Says the report:—

To preserve this institution, your committee are well convinced that the slave-holding states must jealously watch their rights under the constitution, must insist upon that proportionate influence intended to be secured to them by the compromises of that compact, and, above all, must, *at all hazards and at all times, maintain their EQUALITY, FULL and COMPLETE, with whatever other communities they hold connexion.*

As to our rights under the constitution, we hold it to be clear and

unquestionable, that the slave-holding states are entitled to an equal participation in the territories of the United States. And we utterly deny the right of Congress to exclude a new state applying for admission to our union, on account of the existence of any domestic institution which was tolerated in the original THIRTEEN.

Your committee recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

1. Resolved—That in the opinion of this meeting, a submission to the proposed exclusion from an equality of benefits in the territories of the United States, beyond what is already yielded by the Missouri Compromise, would be unwise, dangerous, dishonourable, and debasing.

2. Resolved—That this is a question paramount to all considerations of party, as mere temporary policy, and that he who falters, and, Esau like, barters his birthright for a mess of pottage, is recreant to the memory of the past, to his duty in the present, and a traitor to posterity.

3. Resolved—That this meeting cordially respond to the resolutions lately passed by the House of Delegates in the state of Virginia—that they hereby reiterate the same and adopt them, as expressing not only the sense of this meeting and of Charleston district, but, as they believe, of the state of South Carolina, and, as they confidently hope, of the WHOLE SOUTH.

Surely the South has no reason to complain of the treatment she has received from this end of the Union. She should give her obedient vassals a word of encouragement now and then. She may bind the bonds too tight. They are stretched now almost to breaking. She had better take all that is given her in silence. Words sometimes do great mischief. Men will bear to do much wickedness, who cannot bear to hear it spoken of.

The following are the Virginia resolutions referred to above:—

Be it resolved, unanimously, by the General Assembly of Virginia, that the government of the United States has no control, directly or indirectly, immediately or immediately, over the institution of slavery; and that, in taking any such control, it transcends the limits of its legitimate functions by destroying the internal organization of the sovereignties who created it.

Resolved unanimously—That under no circumstances will this body recognize as binding any enactment of the Federal Government which has for its object the prohibition of slavery in any territory to be acquired either by conquest or treaty; holding it to be the natural and indefeasible right of each and every citizen of each and every state of the confederacy, to reside with his property, of whatever description, in any territory which may be acquired by the arms of the United States, or yielded by treaty with any foreign power.

Resolved unanimously—That this General Assembly holds it to be the duty of every man, in every section of this confederacy, if the union is dear to him, to oppose the passage of any law, for whatever purpose, by which territory to be acquired may be subject to such a restriction.

Resolved unanimously—That the passage of the above-mentioned *proviso* makes it the duty of every slave-holding state, and every citizen thereof, as they value their dearest privileges, their sovereignty, their independence, their rights of property, to take firm, united, and concerted action in this emergency.

These resolutions were advocated by Messrs. Calhoun, I. E. Holmes, and others, and unanimously adopted.

IMMIGRATION TO THE COLONIES.

AT A SPECIAL MEETING of the COMMITTEE of the NORFOLK and NORWICH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, held 16th of APRIL, 1847, JOSEPH GELDART, Esq. in the Chair, the new regulations respecting immigrants into the Mauritius and other colonies, the ordinance for the regulation of labour in British Guiana, and the proposed transfer of Kroomen from the coast of Africa to Guiana and Trinidad, having been taken into consideration, it was resolved unanimously,—

"1st. That while we entertain no objection to a really free and spontaneous immigration into the colonies, we are most decidedly adverse to the various schemes set on foot under that name, as cruelly deceptive to the immigrants, attended with a great sacrifice of human life, and most demoralizing in their effects on the Creole population; on whom also is chiefly made to fall, in the shape of taxes on the necessities of life, the burden of a system which will materially reduce their wages.

"2ndly. That the new regulations respecting immigrants into the Mauritius, &c., in relation to contracts, industrial residence, and passports, will deprive them of that freedom in what relates to choice of employers and occupation, which is both the indisputable right of every labourer, and absolutely necessary as a safeguard against injustice and oppression; and that the penalty of imprisonment with hard labour, in the case of inability to pay fines, at the rate of one day's imprisonment for every sixpence claimed as due, is cruelly oppressive.

"3rdly. That the provisions of the ordinance for the regulation of labour in British Guiana, lately sanctioned by the Home Government, are of similar character and tendency; and that the clauses of this ordinance in reference to implied contracts, the vesting of jurisdiction in planter magistrates for the settlement of disputes between the labourer and his

employer, and the infliction of punishment by fine, distress, and imprisonment for trifling and undefined offences, indicate a determination, on the part of the planters, to frustrate the great measure of emancipation, by introducing a modified system of slavery.

"4thly. That until the industry both of the Creole population and of immigrant labourers is absolutely free, the great object for which the Abolitionists of this country have so long laboured, and for which the British people have paid so many millions, cannot be considered as attained; nor can the results of emancipation become of such a character as to induce foreign nations to imitate our example, by putting a termination to a system which, in its necessary operation, and in that of the slave-trade which it sustains, outrages every principle of religion and humanity.

"5thly. That we regard with the most serious apprehension the scheme for introducing Kroomen into the West Indies, as nothing better than a modified slave-trade, the natives of that district not being free agents; that from its vicinity to slave-dealing countries, we are satisfied that no precaution which could be devised, would prevent its giving a stimulus to the slave-trade of the interior; and that such a measure must stultify all the efforts made by this nation for the suppression of that traffic, by affording a pretext to slave-dealing nations to persist in their iniquitous commerce under colour of a free immigration.

"6thly. That, advertizing to the fact that these various undertakings are adopted at the instance and for the benefit of a comparatively small number of individuals, that they are ruinous to the colonies, and that they are increasingly unpopular there, we are fully convinced, that the true remedy for them is to be found in the general adoption of some system of local self-government, which should give to the educated and moral of every class, a fair share in the framing of those laws which the exigencies of the population require.

"7thly. That these resolutions be advertised in the local newspapers; that a copy be forwarded to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society; that they be embodied in a petition to be addressed to both Houses of Parliament, and that the petition be signed by the Chairman on behalf of this Committee.

(Signed) "JOSEPH GELDART, Chairman."

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY FOR THE UNIVERSAL EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

THE ANNUAL MEETING will take place in the HALL
of COMMERCE, Threadneedle-street, on MONDAY
EVENING, the 17th of MAY, 1847.

The Right Hon. DR. LUSHINGTON in the Chair.

Elihu Burritt, Esq., of Massachusetts; the Rev. W. Gloucester, Minister of the Coloured Church, Philadelphia, and other friends of the Anti-slavery cause, are expected to address the meeting.

The Chair will be taken at HALF-PAST SIX o'clock precisely.

Admission by tickets, which may be had at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street; Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row; Benjamin L. Green, 62, Paternoster-row; Messrs. Hatchard and Son, 187, Piccadilly; James Nisbet, Berners-street, Oxford-street; Messrs. Joseph Sterry and Son, 156, High-street, Borough; and Charles Gilpin, Bishopsgate-street Without.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 1st, 1847.

The friends of the anti-slavery cause will perceive by the foregoing advertisement, that the Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society will be held at the Hall of Commerce, in this city, on the evening of Monday, the 17th of May next. The Right Honourable Dr. Lushington, whose services to the anti-slavery cause are inappreciable, has kindly consented to take the chair on the occasion. We feel certain that our friends both in town and country will endeavour to make it convenient to be present to support him on the occasion. We have the great gratification of stating that Elihu Burritt, the learned and eloquent American blacksmith, a true and devoted friend to the cause, will address British Abolitionists on the great question of human freedom. Mr. Gloucester, formerly a slave, but now the respected pastor of the coloured Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, United States, has also promised his valuable aid at the meeting. In addition to other friends, Mr. Rattray, missionary in British Guiana, but now on a visit to this country, has also kindly promised his assistance. The application for tickets should be early. A few seats will be reserved for ladies.

The Government have entered upon a new and dangerous experiment for supplying the British West Indies with labourers. They have discovered that Coolie immigration is too costly to be continued; and that the free Africans at Sierra Leone cannot be induced, notwithstanding the fair promises of the West India agents, of light labour and high wages, to resort thither. They must, therefore, advance beyond British territory to obtain supplies. The Kroo coast is considered eminently favourable for their purposes; and to the Kroo coast one of her Majesty's steam ships, the *Growler*, is to be sent. If we had no other objection to this experiment than the fact, that the Kroo coast is out of British jurisdiction, that would be sufficient to determine us against it; but when we add to this fact, that the Kroo people are neither free nor independent; that they cannot make engagements for themselves, nor enjoy the fruits of engagements when made for them; when we know that they will not be permitted to emigrate in families, and that in everything they must submit to the authority of their chiefs or headmen, our objection becomes insuperable. We predict that this resort to the Kroo coast for labourers, if it be persisted in, will give rise to a new slave-trade, more difficult to be dealt with even than that which now tasks the powers of Government for its suppression: and which fills every mind that contemplates it with indignation and horror. The example, once set by Great Britain, will be followed by other nations, who, under the plea of furnishing themselves with free labourers, will supply themselves with slaves. We feel persuaded that Government have given their consent to this mode of recruiting the West Indies with labourers, in ignorance of all the facts of the case; or, what is more probable, to release themselves from the pressing importunities of the West Indian body.

The principal agent to be employed in this extraordinary service, is the chief officer of the Customs at Sierra Leone. He is to have a salary of £300 sterling *per annum*, and one dollar per head for every Krooman embarked for British Guiana or Trinidad. Under him, and settled somewhere on the Kroo coast, there are to be subordinate agents, with moderate salaries; but in order to stimulate their exertions they are also to be rewarded with half-a-dollar per head for each Krooman embarked. Now, we consider this arrangement open to the most serious exceptions. In the first place, we much question the propriety of employing the chief officer of the Customs of Sierra Leone as an emigrant agent. We cannot see how he can perform both services efficiently. But, beyond this, we do feel the greatest possible repugnance to the head-money. It is bad in principle, and we believe will lead to the worst practices.

The Lords of the Admiralty have recently visited the *Growler*. The courtly newsman who reported their inspection of the vessel, after describing her accomodations, observes—*naively*, “She is fitted up just like a slaver.” This description of the vessel is in harmony with the object of her voyage; she will bring slaves, not freemen to Guiana and Trinidad.

We are pleased to find that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have sent the Government their protest against it, and trust their example will be followed by the friends of the anti-slavery cause throughout the kingdom.

Our friends will read in another part of the *Reporter*, with the deepest interest and satisfaction, the outburst of anti-slavery feeling and sentiment which has recently occurred in the French Chamber of Deputies. It arose out of the presentation of a considerable number of petitions, signed by upwards of 11,000 persons, many of whom occupy elevated positions both in the Church and in the State. They prayed for the immediate and entire abolition of slavery. Of course the colonial party, through its paid agent, M. Jollivet, did all they possibly could to turn the edge of the petitions, but in vain. The admirable way in which the whole question was handled by the reporter on the petitions, M. Paul de Gasparin, and sustained by MM. Jules de Lasteyrie, Lacrosse, Ledru-Rollin, Dupin *Ainé*, and Odilon Barrot, carried everything before it. In vain did M. de Mackau, the Minister of Marine and Colonies, attempt to master the Chamber. It was felt that he had no case; and the Chamber, without going to the vote, required the petitions to be placed in the hands of the President of the Council, the Minister of the Colonies, and the Minister of Justice.

The *National*, referring to the speech of M. Ledru-Rollin, which certainly was one of great ability and eloquence, says

“Whilst we are talking, what is going on? Read the speech of M. Ledru-Rollin. The facts cited by him, from official sources, revolted both the soul and the sense. The Chamber was moved even to indignation in listening to the cases of atrocity produced by him; and yet these crimes remain unpunished! The orator threw into his subject the warmth of a deep and penetrating sympathy. The entire assembly was excited by the energy of his tones. He pleaded for justice and humanity in terms the most noble and striking, and which won the applause of all parties in the Chamber.” M. Guizot, who was present, by his gesture and actions proved that he had no sympathy with his colleague. He cried out, with energy, in one part of the discussion “*There is no opposition.*” Our private informations prove, that this eminent individual is still in favour of abolition.

The *Semeur*, in a capital article, suggests that the blow which has been so well-directed against slavery, should be immediately followed up by practical measures. It says:—“This year 10,735 signatures have been obtained, nothing will prevent 100,000 being gained next year. We are convinced the Government will never decide upon emancipation, unless it be compelled; and that, not because it has any liking for slavery, but because it fears losing a few votes from the maritime cities; and because it is its habit to avoid difficulties instead of resolving them. It is necessary, then that public opinion should come to its aid, and that cannot be done but by petitions.”

The French Society for the Abolition of Slavery is composed of members of the two Chambers; it has accomplished much certainly, but it has confined itself to seeking out the best legislative solution of the difficulty, rather than aimed at popularizing the question. It is then desirable that another influence should be added to its own. In short, the people must be instructed, for they are ill-informed; they must be disposed to demand with unanimity the immediate and complete abolition of slavery, leaving to legislators to determine the mode; and to accomplish this we must not abandon this great cause to its destiny, but plead for it with perseverance, and sustain it with energy. It is necessary that there should be a centre for action, as there has already been one for deliberation.

The *Semeur* adds the gratifying information that, after the debate on Monday last, a few friends of the anti-slavery cause met together, and resolved to form themselves into a committee, to promote it by all means in their power. They have opened, in consequence, an office in the Rue Romford, No. 8, and without determining all the measures they may ultimately adopt, they have agreed to proceed, at once, to propagate information, and to procure petitions to be presented at the next session of the Chambers, similar to those which have obtained so much success during the late debate. The motto of the new Committee will be, “EMANCIPATION IMMEDIATE AND COMPLETE.”

We most cordially wish them success.

The indignation felt by the British public, and expressed through the medium of the press, on the unworthy treatment of Mr. Frederick Douglass, by the agent of Cunard's line of steamers, at Liverpool, not only exhibits a healthy state of mind, on the part of our countrymen, but must convince every pro-slavery American, that he must not import his absurd prejudices, and ill-manners among us. If the Universities and other seats of learning, the places of public amusement, the private circle, and even the House of God are closed against men and women, respectable, well-educated and pious, simply on the ground of colour, we rejoice that in this country it is not so. Character, not colour, is the standard of respectability with us. Everywhere, while in Great Britain, Mr. Douglass was well received, as he deserved to be. In him we saw a noble specimen of our nature which had been outraged and degraded by American slavery. To talents of a high order, he added a manly bearing, which not even the crushing influence of the bondage he had endured could subdue. He is now returned to his native soil; and he may be assured that his visit to our shores will be as long remembered, as it was highly valued, by our countrymen.

We beg to call the attention of our readers to the abundant information we have received from the Colonies, which will be found under its appropriate head, and which reveals a most awful picture of the state of the Coolie immigrants, who are represented as suffering and dying by multitudes.

Literature.**NARRATIVE OF JOHN HOMRN.**

(Concluded.)

Cases of suicide, frequent as they are known to be, are not so common amongst slaves as we might suppose. Hope is not soon extinguished in the breast of the slave. The object of his hope is akin to life, and is only extinguished with it. He is ever dreaming of liberty, and the very thought of it sustains him. Nevertheless, when torture is heaped upon him with unrelenting severity, he sometimes loses sight of the future through the overwhelming influence of present sorrow. Remembers the case of Bonifacio, who was consigned to the most cruel tortures, and amongst other things was compelled to wear an iron collar round his neck, with a chain fastened to it, to which was attached a large log of wood, so that in working, every step he took he had to remove the log before him. His spirits sank under this complicated suffering, and he put an end to his existence.

The attempts to escape were frequent, and many found a home at St. Domingo. Accounts were received from time to time of many who had safely arrived there; whilst others were re-taken and were made to endure aggravated sufferings to deter others from making like attempts. Slavery falls with peculiar severity on women. They are compelled to do the same labour, and bear the same punishment as the men. No state or condition exempts them from the cruelty of the merciless tyrant. They are not allowed to watch over the early days of their children, but they are wrenched from them and placed with those who have not a mother's heart. Hence, their cries and wailings are heard incessantly after their mother, who is only permitted to afford them nourishment at dawn of day and at night. Remembers a case of peculiar hardship. One Dolora, a young slave, gave birth to a child, at the same time as her master's wife, who, not having milk enough for her infant, engaged Dolora as wet nurse. Her child was taken from her and sent to some distance, with the understanding that it was to be made free. Dolora, however, could not help fretting for her child, especially as she heard it was sick. The consequence was her milk became affected. Her mistress scolded her for crying, and urged her to desist, saying that he was fat and well. She, however, persisted in her care for him, and as her mistress found she could not destroy her affection, she was sent away to the plantation to work, with instructions to the overseer to administer a castigation.

But not only are the slaves overworked and cruelly punished, but they are ill fed. Their food never varies throughout the year; a little corn flour and salt fish is their only nourishment. They have only two meals a day, for taking which two quarters of an hour only are allowed. Their dwelling is of the most rude description. One large room, with a partition to separate the men from the women, was their only resting place. They laid on the bare floor, huddled together, with a single rug each to cover them. Their education was entirely neglected; they are, therefore, living in absolute ignorance. They know nothing of religion, never being allowed to enter a church or receive the instructions of a minister. Indeed, their constant occupation prevents this. In death, as in life, they are neglected, and their last remains are consigned to a hole dug under a hedge, with no winding sheet or coffin, save only a strip of cloth to keep the limbs together. Such is the end of the poor oppressed Negro.

But to return to Homrn:—He continued to eke out an unhappy existence, now resigning himself to his lot, and then energizing himself in order to effect his deliverance. He applied to the British Consul, who endeavoured to obtain evidence of his freedom. But the letters which he sent to his home, either never reached their destination, or his friends to whom they were addressed, were gone. He gave up all hope from thence. But still he lingered on, trusting that God would make a way for him. The vision tarried, but he waited for it, and at last an opportunity offered for effecting his escape. He saw a ship lying alongside the quay, bound for England, and he determined at all hazards to make an attempt. This was in the month of October last. Watching his opportunity, he crept on board, and stowed himself away between the decks of the ship, now gasping for fear lest he should be discovered, and then hoping for freedom and deliverance, until at last the ship hove anchor. Oh, what a sound was that which told him that soon he should be wafted by the winds of heaven from the land of the oppressor! He heard it with delight. And when he caught the sound of the rattlings which foretold that the sails were about to be spread to the passing gale, oh! how did his heart beat with joy and gladness—how did it dance within him! The ship is now loosed from her moorings, and gaily she glides along the ocean-wave. For two days he remained in suspense, lest his presence in the ship should be unwelcome. At last he summoned courage and appeared on deck, and approached the captain, who interrogated him; and after having heard his tale of woe, pitied him, and cherished him, and encouraged him with kind words, and gave him a welcome. But it turned out that there was another slave on board who had fled from the tyrant's grasp. He was welcomed also; and the captain had the gratification of landing them

both in safety on British ground on the 6th of November last. "May the blessings of those who were ready to perish come upon him."

Homrn found his way to the office of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, where his case was inquired into, and found to be true. He was provided for at the Sailors' Home, where he conducted himself with the strictest propriety, and called forth expressions of commendation from the worthy Secretary, Mr. Pierce.

Every means were made use of to obtain him a passage to Sierra Leone; for he longed to reach his father's house again, if by any means he might once more clasp his father's hand, and receive a mother's caresses. Through the kindness of the Lords of the Admiralty, a passage was afforded him in her Majesty's steam-ship *Penelope*, and he is now, by this time, at the haven where he would be, no longer a slave—but free.

Parliamentary Intelligence.**HOUSE OF COMMONS—April 13.**

THE AFRICAN CRUISERS.

Captain PECHELL observed that previously to the House last resolving itself into a Committee of Supply, the hon. Secretary to the Admiralty made a statement which, though satisfactory as regarded general results, was marked by the omission of any explanation relative to the squadron maintained upon the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade. It was desirable that the hon. gentleman should take the present opportunity of supplying his former omission. The duty which devolved on our officers and crews in the service in question was of the most arduous nature; whilst the station on which they were employed was proverbially injurious to their health. Thirty-four ships and 4,000 seamen, on an average, were employed on the African station. This was a large force, and it appeared to be necessary that some explanation shou'd be given as to the progress which had been made in effecting the object to which its efforts were directed. The squadron on the African station was larger than the squadrons on the West India and Brazil stations conjoined—the West India squadron consisting of only eight vessels, and that of Brazil, including the force employed in the blockade of Montevideo and the River Plate, was composed of thirteen. It appeared that our ships on the African station were acting in concert with those of France and America in endeavouring to suppress the slave-trade, though it was difficult to understand how that could be; for France was bound by no treaties on the subject with any foreign powers, except Sweden and Russia, and America was bound by no treaty whatever with any power. Under these circumstances it appeared to him that, if the French and the United States squadrons united with ours in capturing slavers, the first two would be guilty of piracy. It was matter of well-grounded complaint, that half the money derived from the sale of slave-trading ships captured by our cruisers was absorbed by the officers of the Admiralty courts. The proceeds of a vessel captured by the *Mutine*, and sold the other day at the Cape of Good Hope, amounted to £559, whilst the expenses of condemnation and sale were charged at £273. 17s., leaving only £283. 3s. to be divided amongst the officers and crew. Amongst the items included in the "expenses" were £60 for breaking up the vessel, £43 for Customs duties, and £59 for fees to the Custom-house officers for taking the cargo out of the ship. (Hear.)

Mr. WARD said, that no intimation had reached the Admiralty that any case of difficulty had arisen out of the operations of the three squadrons—British, French, and American—employed on the African station. No joint captures, he believed, had taken place. The squadrons were employed at different points, and each was guided in stopping slavers by treacherously separately made with various powers. With respect to the proceedings in the Admiralty Court relative to the condemnation and sale of prizes, not a single complaint had reached the Admiralty, and in confirmation of his declaration on that point he would refer to his hon. and gallant friend near him. ("Hear," from Admiral Dundas.) If any case of hardship should be brought under the notice of the Admiralty Board, every pains would be taken to insure the officers and men employed on the African station—of whose conduct it was impossible to speak in terms of too warm commendation—to the fullest extent the reward to which they were eminently entitled for their exertions. The Admiralty had done everything possible to render the service on the African station lighter and less dangerous than it used to be. No ship could now remain on the station longer than two years, and the average period of service was 18 months. Steamers, also, were constantly occupied in conveying to the squadron supplies calculated to promote the health of the crews, and to mitigate the severity of the service.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEGISLATURES OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY.

Nine free states, through their legislatures, have protested against the extension of slavery into new territory, and their resolves were laid before Congress. We hope that another Congress may receive a protest from every state, now free, or desiring to become such.

DELAWARE.

The legislature which adjourned on the 26th ultimo, passed a joint resolution requesting the senators and representative of that state in Congress to oppose the addition of new territory to our Union which shall not thereafter be free from slavery. In the senate, the vote stood 4 to 3; in the house, 10 to 19.

MASSACHUSETTS.

The following resolutions were passed unanimously by the legislature of Massachusetts, too late, however, we think, to reach Congress before its adjournment:

CONCERNING THE EXISTENCE AND EXTENSION OF SLAVERY WITHIN THE JURISDICTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Resolved—That the legislature of Massachusetts view the existence of human slavery, within the limits of the United States, as a great calamity—an immense moral and political evil, which ought to be abated and abolished, as soon as that end can be properly and constitutionally attained; and that its extension, at least, should be uniformly and earnestly opposed by all good and patriotic men throughout the Union.

Resolved—That the people of Massachusetts will strenuously resist the annexation of any new territory to this Union, in which the institution of slavery is to be tolerated or established; and the legislature, in behalf of the people of this commonwealth, do hereby solemnly protest against the acquisition of any additional territory, without an express provision by Congress, that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in such territory, otherwise than for the punishment of crime.

Resolved—That his Excellency the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolves to each of the senators and members of the House of Representatives of this Commonwealth in the Congress of the United States.

OHIO.

We have to notice the final disposition of the Black Law question in the Ohio legislature. After several movements upon the subject, the house at last passed a bill, to submit the question of the repeal of the Black Laws to the people, at the spring election; and the senate rejected it. The constitution makes it the duty of the legislature to pass laws; and it has no right whatever to throw off the responsibility. It is easy to see that these atrocious laws are doomed. The progress of public sentiment in Ohio upon this subject has been steady. Every year, since it was first agitated, the opposition to them has gathered strength, and this year they came nearer being repealed than at any former period. Next year, we shall expect to see at least the law relating to testimony blotted out of the statute book.

PENNSYLVANIA.

The following act was passed by the legislature of Pennsylvania at its late session:—

Sec. 1 provides that any person who shall carry away a free coloured person from the state to enslave him, or aid or abet therein, shall pay a fine of not less than \$500 nor over \$2,000, one-half to go to the prosecutor, and be sentenced to the penitentiary not less than five nor over twelve years. Second offence, twenty-one years.

Sec. 2 inflicts the same penalty on any one who may purchase any such person in order to remove him out of the state as a slave.

Sec. 3 prohibits state judges, justices, aldermen, &c., from taking any cognizance whatever of fugitive slave cases, on penalty of \$500 to \$1,000.

Sec. 4 provides that persons causing tumult, or violation of the peace, in recovering a fugitive, shall pay from \$100 to \$1,000, and lie in jail three months.

Sec. 5—writs of habeas corpus are not prohibited by this act.

Sec. 6 prohibits the use of jails, prisons, &c., for the confinement of fugitives, under penalty of \$500, and removal from office.

Sec. 7 repeals the law of 1780, which allows slave-holders to bring their slaves into the state, and hold them six months.

We confess our surprise that Pennsylvania, so far in the rear of Ohio in relation to human rights, as we have been accustomed to suppose, should, at one bound, place herself so far in advance.

THE CLOSING DEBATE IN THE SENATE ON THE WILMOT PROVISO.

The senate galleries were literally crammed. A friend declared he had seen nothing equal to it. The loud buzz of excited conversation resounded throughout the chamber. Speculation was busily engaged in the effort to foreshadow the course of certain senators, whose views had not as yet been distinctly defined. The well-informed, however, were already pretty well assured that the fate of the "Wilmot proviso" was sealed.

But the hand on the dial was fast approaching the hour of six P.M., and, one by one, the senators began to drop into their seats. Amongst the first who entered, was Mr. Calhoun. He strode haughtily into the chamber, his face lighted up with a smile full of meaning. Mr. Cass followed. Then came Mr. Benson, and Dixon H. Lewis. The debate was resumed by Mr. Pearce of Maryland. He entered on an elaborate historical review of the Spanish and French titles to the province of Texas,

in order to controvert certain positions assumed by Mr. Soule. Mr. Dix followed, in what purported to be a vindication of the policy and resolutions of the Empire State, with regard to future acquisitions of territory. There was a great deal to admire in this speech. The sentiments were entirely unexceptionable. But the effort wanted force, vigour, and boldness. There was throughout a shrinking timidity, which was not at all to our taste, in a man standing up at an important crisis to enforce great truths. There is a great difference between the violence and clamour which are to be deprecated and avoided, and the stern vigour which such an occasion justifies and demands. Still, the speech of Mr. Dix was creditable. It is because we so heartily approve its sentiments, that we wished to see them put in a more masculine spirit. A brief colloquy then took place between senators Corwin and John M. Clayton. In the meantime, Mr. Calhoun had stepped to the desk of his colleague, Mr. Butler, and whispered a word in his ear. Mr. Butler started to his feet, and turning around pointed to Mr. Dix, "Ah!" he exclaimed, "we know what is coming! Yes! He has advertised us of it. He has spoken the prologue! It is coming—the Wilmot proviso!" And then the senator went on in a most furious philippic, addressing himself directly to the senator from New York, whom he charged with outraging the constitution. Mr. Colquitt followed his southern colleague, but in terms of subdued tenderness! He confided in the patriotism and virtue of the generous, noble-minded, magnanimous north. He had no fears of the result. Then followed one of the manliest speeches of the evening. Mr. Dayton replied to Mr. Butler's harangue with marked ability. He showed that the framers of the constitution regarded slavery as an "accursed thing," and he rebuked with great good feeling the violence of the senator from South Carolina. Mr. Cass rose with a voluminous manuscript before him. At great length he recited his "reasons" for voting against the proviso. "I have examined," he said, "the resolutions which have been presented to Congress by the legislatures of eight of the states upon this subject, and I find that this proviso is a measure, perhaps, not called for by any of them, certainly not by six of them, and that its simple adoption at this time, will leave unattained the permanent objects sought by all of them." (Laughter.) He then went on reciting the substance of the resolutions sent to the senate from the various non-slaveholding states.

The yeas and nays on the final passage of the bill, were Yeas 115, Nay's 82.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

BURON v. DENMAN—TRIAL AT BAR.—The plaintiff and two other Spanish subjects, named Jiminey and Martinez, brought three several actions against the Hon. Captain Denman, who, while commanding a British vessel stationed upon the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade, entered the territory of an independent native prince, and set at liberty several slaves, the property of the plaintiffs, who were notorious dealers in them. To those actions Capt. Denman pleaded that he had acted in the several matters complained of under the authority of the British Crown, and in pursuance of the provisions of a convention entered into between Great Britain and Spain for the suppression of the slave-trade. That plea was demurred to, and argued at great length some years ago; since which, nothing was heard of the cases until yesterday, when the Attorney-General informed the court that the interests of the Crown were involved in them, and it was thought expedient to have them tried at bar. No day was named for the trials, but the officer was ordered to take a note of the learned Attorney-General's suggestion, so that the writs of *nisi prius* should not be issued.—*Times*.

SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The following petition of the Cork Anti-Slavery Society has lately been presented to both Houses of Parliament; that in the Lords by Lord Brougham, and that in the Commons by Dr. Bowring.

THE PETITION OF THE CORK ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

Respectfully sheweth :

That your petitioners acknowledge with pleasure and satisfaction, the desire which the British Government has for many years evinced to abolish the abominable and demoralizing traffic in human beings, known as the African slave-trade.

That your petitioners have viewed with great interest the increased vigilance and activity that have characterised the later efforts of the Legislature and Government of their country for the above purpose. But while they acknowledge the testimony which that vigilance and activity afford of increased interest in, and appreciation of, the importance of abolishing the African slave-trade, yet the facts which have been brought to light by those late efforts, have impressed them with the conviction that the means used for the suppression of the traffic are not calculated to effect the end proposed, but rather tend to aggravate its evils and add to its horrors.

That your petitioners will not intrude upon the time and patience of the Legislature by any detailed recapitulation of the facts alluded to, as many of them have been already laid before you, and all are within the reach

of those who wish to become acquainted with them; but they would simply allude to the character of those facts, and their bearing on the matter under consideration.

First.—The attempt to suppress the African slave-trade by the employment of ships of war, and other applications of force, have caused the attention of those engaged in the trade to be applied, almost solely, to methods of transmitting their cargoes rapidly and securely; and that, consequently, the miseries of the wretched people who formed those cargoes are fearfully increased. They are crowded into vessels of inadequate bulk and structure, with imperfect and deficient preparations for their accommodation, and in which the health and comfort of the unfortunate victims are wholly unattended to. The hardships and cruelties which they suffer before shipment, are also manifestly aggravated from the same cause; a fearful instance of which lately occurred in the destruction of 4000 human beings in one of the depôts of Africa, in consequence of the vigilance of one of the English cruisers depriving their brutal holders from having the opportunity of selling them.

Your petitioners will not further dwell upon this portion of their reasons for a change in the mode at present adopted for the suppression of the traffic, although it discloses scenes of misery and horror of the most revolting character, and which cannot fail to impress upon all the importance of thoughtful consideration as to the means which are employed for the promotion of even good and benevolent objects.

The second reason, which your petitioners would urge upon your consideration, is derived from the known waste and destruction of life, and very great expense, caused by maintaining a naval force on the coast of Africa; the service there being amongst the most unhealthy and dangerous in which British subjects can be engaged.

The third class of facts, to which your petitioners would direct attention, are those which prove—*That the means adopted for the suppression of the slave-trade have altogether failed of effecting that object.* They respectfully propose to your attention the official communications of your own subordinates upon this subject, which have already been laid before the Executive; from which it is perfectly manifest, that the slave-markets in Cuba, Brazil, &c., are as fully supplied now as they were before the adoption of the present system of prevention; that the number of slaves disposed of is as large as ever, and that the restriction only serve to increase the price, and thus stimulate those engaged in the trade to make greater efforts and encounter greater risks; whilst the number lost by sickness and hardship from the causes before alluded to, induce a much larger amount of loss of life, and a fearful increase of all the cruelties and barbarities which are consequent on the seizure of slaves in Africa.

From all these considerations your petitioners would impress upon you, as Christian legislators, the necessity of the complete abandonment of the use of armed vessels, and all other, than moral means, for the suppression of the African slave-trade, and that the efforts of Government be directed to the abolition of the slave-markets, as they are convinced, that so long as those markets exist, the slave-trade cannot be suppressed.

That your petitioners see in national negociation—in the encouragement of the produce of articles of free-states, which are generally cultivated by slaves, for which produce large districts in your own East India colonies are admirably adapted, which would be a means of preventing the Coolie immigration, which we believe to be bad both in principle and practice, and in the spread of knowledge and civilization amongst mankind generally, and amongst the people of Africa in particular, means by which this desirable condition of human society might be advanced and ultimately matured.

That your petitioners lay these facts and reasonings before you, hoping that you will give them your most earnest consideration, and legislate accordingly.

And your petitioners will be ever grateful.

Signed on behalf of the Cork Anti-Slavery Society.

ANDREW T. ROCHE, Ald. Chairman.
RALPH VARIAN, Sec.

MR. DOUGLASS AND THE BRITISH AND NORTH AMERICAN ROYAL MAIL COMPANY.

The following letter detailing the particulars of the outrage committed, in refusing him a place in the saloon of the *Cambria*, after having paid for the accommodation, was addressed by Mr. Douglass to the editor of the *Times* and other papers.

MR. EDITOR,—I take up my pen to lay before you a few facts respecting an unjust proscription to which I find myself subjected on board the steam ship *Cambria*, to sail from this port (Liverpool) at ten o'clock to-morrow morning (April 4) for Boston, United States.

On the 4th of March last, in company with George Moxhay, Esq., of the Hall of Commerce, London, I called upon Mr. Ford, the London agent of the Cunard line of steamers, for the purpose of securing a passage on board the steam-ship *Cambria* to Boston, United States. On inquiring the amount of the passage, I was told £40 19s. I inquired further, If a second-class passage could be obtained? He answered, No; there was but one fare, all distinctions having been abolished. I then gave him

£40 19s., and received from him in return a ticket entitling me to berth No. 72, on board the steam-ship *Cambria*, at the same time asking him if my colour would prove any barrier to my enjoying all the rights and privileges enjoyed by other passengers? He said, No. I then left the office, supposing all well, and thought nothing more of the matter until this morning, when, in company with a few friends, agreeably to public notice, I went on board the *Cambria* with my luggage, and on inquiring for my berth, found to my surprise and mortification that it had been given to another passenger, and was told that the agent in London had acted without authority in selling me the ticket. I expressed my surprise and disappointment to the captain, and inquired what I had better do in the matter. He suggested my accompanying him to the office of the agent in Water-street, Liverpool, for the purpose of ascertaining what could be done. On stating the fact of my having purchased the ticket of the London agent, Mr. McIver (the Liverpool agent) answered that the London agent, in selling me the ticket, had acted without authority, and that I should not go on board the ship unless *I agreed to take my meals alone and not to mix with the saloon company, and give up the berth for which I had paid.* Being without legal remedy, and anxious to return to the United States, I have felt it due to my own rights as a man, as well as to the honour and dignity of the British public, to lay these facts before them, well knowing that the British public will pronounce a just verdict on such proceedings.

I have travelled in this country nineteen months and have *always* enjoyed equal rights and privileges with other passengers, and it was not until I turned my face towards America, that I met with anything like proscription on account of my colour.

Yours respectfully,
FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

(From the Times.)

The tyranny complained of in a letter signed "Frederick Douglass," which appeared in our paper of Tuesday, ought not to be allowed to pass in this country without some public expression of disapprobation and disgust at a proceeding wholly repugnant to our English notions of justice and humanity. A highly respectable gentleman of colour, after visiting England, being about to return to America, had taken and paid for a berth in the steam-ship *Cambria*, when, on going on board with his luggage, he is informed that the accommodation he had purchased for himself has been allotted to another passenger. On seeking for an explanation of this piece of manifest dishonesty (for it is certainly dishonest to take a sum of money and refuse to perform the condition on which it has been received), the aggrieved person was told that if he wished to go by the ship he must take his meals alone, forego mixing with the company in the saloon, and relinquish to another the berth he had paid to secure. The plain fact of the matter appears to be, that Mr. Douglass being a man of colour, was not allowed to go out on an equal footing with the rest of the passengers on board the *Cambria*. It signifies very little to us how contemptible the Americans may make themselves by the prejudices they act upon in their own country, and it concerns, perhaps, none but themselves, that they should present the anomaly of a nation talking largely of equality and liberality while practically drawing one of the meanest and most senseless distinctions that it is possible to conceive. The shame is theirs alone of giving the lie to their own boasted theory of freedom both in action and opinion, by the habitual exercise of the most despotic restraint over the former in the case of the coloured population, and the subjugation of the latter in their own case to a most paltry prejudice. We are unfortunately compelled to witness in some points a deviation on the part of America from those general principles of enlightenment which are acknowledged by the people of every other civilized nation in the world. We, however, are not in any way bound to tolerate the introduction into this country of any of the degrading peculiarities of society in the United States, nor can we observe with calm indifference any tendency to import among us prejudices utterly at variance with our feelings and character. We therefore do not refrain from expressing our most intense disgust at the conduct of the agents of the *Cambria*, in having succumbed to a miserable and unmeaning assumption of skin-deep superiority by the American portion of their passengers. We do not know who the over-sensitive individuals may have been that feared contamination in taking out a person of colour as a fellow-passenger in the *Cambria*, but we cannot believe them to have been superior either in education, position, or refinement, either natural or acquired, to the average run of our English colonial governors. The latter—although acting as the representatives of Her Majesty—do not refuse to receive at their tables the class of gentlemen whom American nicely will not admit even into equal participation of the advantages of a public conveyance, which is free to all except in the land making special claim to freedom.

It is one of the most inexcusable aggravations of the gross injustice of the case we have been alluding to, that the ship in which Mr. Douglass had paid for the berth he was not allowed to occupy, on account of his colour, belongs to a partly English company, which draws an immense sum of English money annually for its conveyance of the mail, and is otherwise greatly indebted to English connexion. Common decency

should have taught the agents of the *Cambria* not to offend our notions of justice and common sense for the sake of truckling to an unworthy prejudice of our transatlantic neighbours. Mr. Douglass had, by his sojourn and reception in this country, earned at least some title to be regarded as not unfit to mix in the society of a vessel accessible to the public in general. The breach of the contract entered into with him seems to us as dishonourable, as the prejudice against him is ignorant and contemptible.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*.)

We have waited, with a patience which the event shows to have been most wofully misplaced, to see whether the Cunard steam-ship company would put forth anything in the shape of a contradiction, defence, or explanation of the disgraceful charge lately brought against them, by a gentleman who had the ill fortune to confide in their punctual performance of an express contract. As the company, however, are silent under Mr. Frederick Douglass's accusation, we have nothing left for it but to conclude that this gentleman's account of the transaction alluded to is true to the letter, and that a commercial company, largely dependent on British capital and confidence, and actually patronized by the British Government, have been deliberately guilty of a particularly disgusting act of meanness and badfaith.

The history of this shameful piece of "repudiation" is too fresh in the public memory to need recapitulation; and its moral features are too obvious to call for any other comment than the simple expression of intense and unmixed disgust. This Anglo-American mail-packet company, for the sake of propagating as base and vile a prejudice as ever disgraced any community, ancient or modern, Christian or heathen, have impudently broken at Liverpool the contract they signed in London. They have dared to attempt importing into England the infamous transatlantic doctrine that commercial faith need not be kept with persons of a particular race and lineage, and that the commonest rights and decencies of social life may be disregarded in the case of gentlemen of a particular complexion.

We flatly reject the importation, and the company will do wisely to reconsider the commercial expediency of this description of contraband traffic. It is not for us to interfere with American tastes and moralities, as exhibited on American soil. The freest and most enlightened community of civilized men must, if it will, be allowed to turn its everlasting prize of "liberty and equality" into the veriest farce that ever provoked the scorn of mankind. If the model republic thinks proper to make its republican freedom a bye-word for the contempt of Europe, it is the model republic's own affair. Only it cannot be too distinctly understood that the model republic in this matter must keep itself to itself. The peculiar commercial and social moralities, generated by the peculiar domestic institutions of the greatest and noblest commonwealth that the universal earth ever beheld, must be strictly limited in their application to the generous soil of their birth. The aristocracy of colour is a thing which the victims of despotism can neither appreciate nor endure. However it may be at Boston and New York, in London and Liverpool man is a man, and a bargain a bargain; and any commercial company that dreams of living on the confidence and good-will of the British public, and making a profit by the patronage of the British Government, will do prudently in respecting the first moral and commercial canons of British society. As the Cunard steam-packet company seems to hold "popular prejudice" in singular deference, it is proper they should know that people in England have their prejudices too, and perfectly well understand how to give them audible and practical expression. If the Cunard steam-packet company set any particular value on a passenger and mail traffic, of which the one half depends on popular opinion and preference, and the other on an annual parliamentary vote, it will be but judicious on their part to refrain from insulting public feeling in this country at one of its tenderest points.

Our readers will probably share our regret that Mr. Douglass so hastily took for granted the non-existence of any "legal remedy" for the dishonest insolence of which he was the victim. We beg to assure him that he was very much mistaken; and had it consisted with his personal convenience to stand on his legal rights, and hold the company to their contract, and bring an action of damages for its audacious violation, twelve men, good and true, would have had the greatest pleasure imaginable in convincing him of his error. After Mr. Douglass had known us so long, and had such excellent opportunities for becoming acquainted with our morals, manners, and institutions, he really should have given us credit for possessing some available legal remedy for a barefaced breach of a legal contract. "Repudiation" has no place either in the theory or practice of English law; and it would have done an English jury's heart good to give tangible expression to their abhorrence of the innovation. Mr. Douglass is quite safe in "believing that the British public will pronounce a just verdict on such proceedings." But we do feel vexed that the British public have not had the opportunity afforded them of throwing their "verdict" into that particular shape in which it would be most effectual for the moral instruction and reformation of the repudiators.

The following is the reply of the Agent at Liverpool to Mr. Douglass' letter.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR.—I regret to find that a letter signed "Frederick Douglass" has been published, in which my name is mixed up in a manner that appears to me to be very extraordinary and unjustifiable. Having been absent from Liverpool for a week on business, I had not an earlier opportunity of noticing this, which I shall now do as briefly as possible.

The first time Mr. Frederick Douglass saw or met with me was not, as he states, *before*, but *after*, he had agreed with my people to arrangements and accommodation for his passage on board the *Cambria*, with which he expressed no dissatisfaction to me, but the contrary. Mr. Douglass had no conversation whatever with me except in the presence of three or four other individuals, and the whole point of my remarks amounted to this—that he (Mr. Douglass) when coming from the United States some months ago in the same vessel, the *Cambria*, as a steerage passenger, was invited by some of the cabin passengers to enter the saloon, and was the cause, whether intentionally or unintentionally on his part, of producing, by the observations he made use of, serious disturbance on board, which required the authority of the captain to quell, in order to restore peace and safety. Under these circumstances I told Mr. Douglass that had he not entered into the arrangements which had been completed, I should undoubtedly have considered it my duty to require of him, before allowing him to embark, a distinct pledge that he would neither of himself, nor at the desire of others, follow such a course as was likely to lead to a repetition of such scenes of confusion as had formerly occurred. I added that, from the conversation that had just taken place between us, it was unnecessary I should act or say more upon the subject. I moreover told him that I should have taken the same course had his name been John Jones, or anything else, instead of Frederick Douglass, or had he been the whitest man in the world. These were my words.

All I find fault with is, that Mr. Frederick Douglass has withheld the entire conversation which took place between us, and by suppressing the most material facts and giving a spurious version, has misled the public.

I admit, to the fullest extent, my accountability for what was actually done, or actually said, to Mr. Douglass by my people; but, he having so commenced by misrepresenting the conversation I myself had with him, I shall not discuss, through the press, either now or again, his allegations as to what took place with others.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

CHARLES MACIVER.

British and North American Royal Mail Company,
Liverpool, April 12, 1847.

On the appearance of the letter of Mr. Mc. Iver, a communication was made from the office of the Anti-slavery Society to the Editor of the *Times*, and an extract from the speech of Mr. Douglass, made at a meeting held at Cork on the 20th of October, 1845, was forwarded, in which he clearly showed that he was not in any way implicated in the disturbance which took place, which were inserted in due course. Such of our readers as may wish to refer to the speech of Mr. D. will find it in No. 23 of the ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER for November, 1845.

The subjoined letter is in reply to a most scurrilous effusion that appeared in the *Times*, under the signature of Charles M. Burrop, and which, as will be seen, turned out to be altogether fictitious!

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR.—Observing in the *Times* of this day a letter signed "Charles M. Burrop, of Asgill, Virginia, United States, Head Manager of the Cunard Company of Liners," I beg to inform you that no such person, or any other individual in the United States, holds any share or interest in the steam-ships alluded to, and that the statements set forth in that letter are entirely untrue.

No one can regret more than I do the unpleasant circumstances respecting Mr. Douglass's passage; but I can assure you that nothing of the kind will again take place in the steam-ships with which I am connected.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

S. CUNARD.

22, Duke-street, St. James's, April 13.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—The following resolutions were adopted by the Milwaukee District Convention, at its late meeting in Prairieville—

"Whereas, the Presbyterian and Congregational General Convention of Wisconsin, with which we stand connected, has declared 'American Slavery to be a sin: and a sin of such magnitude that all who practise it or knowingly promote it, should be excluded from our pulpits and the fellowship of our churches.' Therefore,

"Resolved, That in view of this Convention, consistency with the above declaration in regard to the sin of American Slavery demands of the

Presbyterian and Congregational General Convention of Wisconsin, *kind, earnest, and continued* remonstrance against the toleration of this sin by any of the ecclesiastical bodies with which we are in practical correspondence, or by any of the institutions with which we are in any way connected.

"Resolved, That in the view of the Convention, until churches, in all their relations and organizations, shall call slavery *sin* and treat it as such, they will fail to secure its overthrow.

"Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the churches within its bounds, to open their doors to anti-slavery lecturers, and to give their aid and countenance to such lecturers, so far as they shall urge, in a Christian manner, the obligations of man, as taught in the first great commandment, and in 'the second, which is like unto it: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'

BLACK LAWS OF MISSOURI.—Since the recent decision of Judge Krum, a writer in the *St. Louis Gazette* has furnished the following question to be answered by the wise constitutional heads of Missouri:—

Some five years since, a gentleman in this city, upon his death-bed, by will, freed over a dozen of his slaves. When the executor, three years after this, made a final settlement of the estate, he consulted some of the best lawyers in the city, in relation to the steps necessary to protect these Negroes in the privilege of their freedom in Missouri. He was informed that by the decision of Mullanphy, all that would be required would be to furnish each slave with a copy of the will, authenticated by the Judge of Probate.—This was done, and they have remained here undisturbed until this week. Now, under the decision of Judge Krum, they are hunted by the city officers, and threatened with stripes and fines, unless they will obtain a license to remain in this state, by proving their good character, and giving bonds for \$1,000 each, endorsed by two responsible names. Now I ask, what shall they do? They have no friends here. They could have given the required bonds when first freed. But under the decision of an old resident of Missouri, a slave-holder, they were then informed that this was not necessary. They have no right to reside in any other state in the Union without bonds. They have no friends only in the vicinity of New Orleans, where they cannot go. One of them is over sixty years old, a member of the Baptist Church, of unblemished character. She, and younger female members of the family, with great industry, support themselves by washing. To do this, they must live in a city. In no other city in the Union, than St. Louis, have they a right to stay. Here lawyers and judges have informed them they had a constitutional right to remain. It is now in the worst part of winter. I ask again, What shall they do? Suppose they are taken up, fined, and whipped, and sent out of the state—what then? Where shall they go? They cannot go to Illinois without bonds. If they can, they have no means of support there. If any considerable number go to Illinois, or any other free state, they will be treated with the same abolition kindness the Ohioans manifested towards John Randolph's servants. Here it is not safe for any one to give bonds for a free Negro; for it has been intimated, that those who are at the bottom of the present persecution, intend to involve every free Negro thus licensed to remain in Missouri, in some real or pretended crime, by which the bonds shall be forfeited until our citizens refuse to give bonds for any free coloured persons. Then what shall this family do? They are well nigh frantic with despair. I see no abiding place for them in the United States.

BOWIE KNIVES IN THE SENATE.—Mr. Colquitt, a senator from Georgia, and a clergyman, in his remarks on the three-million bill, said, "If division and disunion must come, there would be found men of the south ready enough and brave enough to commence the struggle; and they would commence it here—here: the very carpet that covers this legislative floor might be stained with the blood of those who now stand upon it!"

That is, indeed, high talk in the nation's sanctuary—to come, too, from a minister of the Gospel! This Mr. Colquitt is a distinguished Methodist clergyman, who, in addition to his political duties at the senate board, generally preaches every Sabbath in one of the Methodist churches in Washington. He is a slave-holder and a hot advocate of slavery; and he threatens—does he?—that if the national legislature dare provide against the establishment of slavery in any free territory to be acquired, the work of civil war and assassination shall commence in the very senate chamber itself—"the very carpet that covers this legislative floor might be stained with the blood of those who now stand upon it!" Does he carry a bowie knife, with which to assassinate the advocates of liberty on that floor? The man ought to have been taken instantly into custody, his person examined for deadly weapons, and then he should have been expelled from the chamber, which was desecrated by his bloody threat.—*Gospel Banner*.

KILLING A SLAVE.—At the last term of Jones County Superior Court, commencing on Wednesday of last week, Ira Westbrook, a citizen of that county, was tried for the murder of a slave, by the name of Lot, before his honor, Judge Pearson. The prisoner was defended by James W. Bryan, Esq. It appeared in evidence that the Negro was hired to Westbrook, and at the time the affair for which he was indicted occurred, that the Negro was insolent and impudent in his language

toward the prisoner, and thereupon he took down a cowhide to whip him. Lot then told the prisoner that he would not be whipped by any such man, and began to move off. Westbrook then took down his gun; upon which, the Negro in an impudent manner told him to shoot, repeating it three times. The prisoner then fired upon him, and lodged the contents of the gun in the calf of his leg. The Negro fell, and soon after crawled back to the door of the prisoner's house, and told him, in an impudent manner, to shoot the other barrel of the gun into his head, which the prisoner did not do. Mortification ensued from the wounds in the leg, and he died in consequence on the third day after he was shot. The prisoner's counsel, we learn, put his defence mainly on the ground that the Negro was in a state of rebellion and resistance to the prisoner, who, for the time being, was his owner, and had all the rights and authority of his actual master. That but for this resistance and rebellion, it would be at most but a case of manslaughter. His honor Judge Pearson charged the jury, that viewing this case as one in which the prisoner had killed the deceased, upon the provocation of impudence and insolence, it was, in the eye of the law, but a case of manslaughter. But if the deceased was in an actual state of rebellion and resistance to the prisoner, then he would have a right to kill him, and would not be liable criminally for the act, but would be justified in law for so doing. The judge then explained to the jury what he deemed rebellion and resistance on the part of a slave toward his master. The jury found the prisoner not guilty. We regard this as a very important case, it having called forth, as we believe, the first decision upon these principles of law that has been made in the state.—*N. C. Newbernian*, 16th.

Colonial Intelligence.

BRITISH GUIANA.—We alluded (says the *Royal Gazette*, of March 9), in the course of last week to an Ordinance lately passed by the Legislative Council of Trinidad, for the purpose of *enforcing* the labour of Coolies by means of indentures to the planters. We have reason to believe that the example will be soon imitated here; for we happen to know, that our Court of Policy have already had before them a bill "for promoting immigration from Asia, and the industry of immigrants therefrom," founded on the same principles as the Trinidad Ordinance. The heading of neither the Trinidad Ordinance nor our own bill do we exactly approve. How immigration from Asia can be promoted by a regulation in the West Indies, that the Asiatics shall not be entitled to their return passages, unless they shall have served under indentures for five years, is not, we must own, very clear to a plain understanding. Such an assertion, to be candid, wears the guise of a humorous hypocrisy, which amuses, or simply disgusts, according to the constitution of the mind of the reader. Severe truth, we apprehend, rather requires that the title of such an act should avow what it is actually meant to be, "a bill for encouraging the agriculture of the colony," in the first place, "and (also, no doubt) for promoting the industry of immigrants from Asia."

We may hereafter take occasion to refer to other portions of the bill; and in so doing, the tone of approbation in which we have just had the pleasure of indulging may, possibly, as regards several passages of the bill, be changed into one of disapproval; for there are some, though, certainly, a very few provisos, which do not seem to us altogether politic and wise.

The Coolie, Bauseer, who was to have been executed on the 20th instant, for the murder of the woman Mogun, at plantation Meer-Zorg, in Wakenaam, has been respite until her Majesty's pleasure be known.

The ship *Sea Park* arrived yesterday evening, after a passage of eighty-seven days, from Madras, with 384 immigrants. Ten deaths occurred on board, and two of them recently, the last on the 16th instant, the day before their arrival. In consequence of these deaths having been occasioned by Asiatic Cholera, the Health Officer and Superintendent of Quarantine reported the circumstance to the Governor, and his Excellency has directed that the *Sea Park* shall be placed under rigid quarantine for ten days.—*Royal Gazette*, March 18th.

DEMERARA.—The weather continues fine and showery, the rains not being so heavy as to prevent sugar-making, yet sufficient to invigorate the young canes.

Coolie immigrants continue to arrive in numbers; the bark *Nestor* came in on the 1st, with 190 of these poor kidnapped people on board. They are distributed, by directions of the executive, to the various estates; the immigrants having no more voice or choice in the matter of their location than is allowed to a newly-imported slave in the Brazils or Havannah; nor do our old slave-owners appear inclined to stop at this *little injustice*, or to confine it to Coolies who are British subjects, but seem determined to extend their *slavery laws* to the Portuguese immigrants, free subjects of the Queen of Portugal, allured to our swamps by the offer of a free passage, the prospect of amassing wealth (no longer practicable), and the promise of perfect freedom in their choice of employer, &c., in this colony. The *Royal Gazette* of last night, referring to Trinidad slavery scheme, says, "The other ordinance may probably soon prove a model for imitation by our own

legislature; and, in fact, is nothing less than a law for indenturing Coolies to planters, as Earl Grey recommends should be done in Mauritius. The ordinance applies only to the Coolies. Few Portuguese, we believe, are introduced into Trinidad. *But if a similar act should be passed here, it would be incomplete unless extended to all classes of immigrants on whom bounties are paid by the public.*" And as if to make the scheme more palpably and disgustingly oppressive, it is even proposed to resort to the dishonest plan of giving these laws a retrospective effect, and to shackle the whole body of immigrants who have arrived in this colony within the last five years! * * * At length, close upon the month of March, 1847, the hospital report for the half-year ending Dec. 31, 1846, has been published. We do not wish to subject ourselves to the charge of being unnecessarily captious, neither do we profess to have any talent at fault finding; but as plain tax-payers we look at this last report as the most "damning" proof of all our assertions respecting immigration that has ever been published. First, it appears, that during the last six months there have been admitted to the Colonial General Hospital of British Guiana, no less a number than 3,533 persons, of whom 224 have died, with none to tell the tale of their last hours, 2,943 have been discharged, and 366 remain!! Looking down the list of the 3,533 persons admitted, we find only a very few English and Scotch names (in fact, only nineteen, all the rest are Coolies and Portuguese); and we observe many whose dates of discharge and re-admission are within a very few days of each other. Take 19 then from 3,533, and it will appear that of immigrants imported into this colony, there have been in the hospital during the last six months, no less a number than 3,514 foreigners! And what a picture does this present of the colony! but at present we will keep to our figures, our deductions will be hereafter. We find, also, that 2,944 unfortunate creatures have been discharged; whether cured or not, the report does not say, and, therefore, we must supply the information. A writer in the semi-official *Guiana Times*, well known to be a medical gentleman, although signing himself an educated labourer, admits that many are discharged "hardly well, because there are worse below waiting for his bed." And in the same letter, this same Dr. admits that the police took over the river those who were "actually sick." Now in our perambulations and conversations, it does happen to us to hear and see both Coolies and Portuguese recently discharged, and without a home in this wide world, with the image of disease and death stamped upon their countenances; some lie upon the roads and die; others beg from house to house; others go nobody knows where, and are never heard of again; and all these are amongst the "discharged." Let not our readers, therefore, suppose that "discharged" means "cured;" it rather means, "turned adrift to do the best they can." From the same source we learn that there have been fifty-eight operations performed in the hospital during the last six months, or nearly one every third day. And to this tabular view of the capital and other operations, is appended this frightful note, written, it really seems to us, in letters of blood. *Note.—The amputation cases have been unusually fatal, in consequence of the unavoidable crowding of the wards during the last six months!!!!* Poor wretches of immigrants! deluded, decoyed, diseased, friendless, and hopeless, go to the hospital and have your leg cut off, or any other amputation case; and if you shall die after the operation, the authorities will send word to your friends that the "wards were unavoidably crowded during the last six months!" What greater comfort could they desire? We learn also from the same report, that the expenses of keeping, curing, discharging, and sending to the last bourne of these 3,514 foreigners, for the last six months, have been close upon 50,000 dollars, or nearly £10,000 sterling! Truly a large sum for a ruined colony to pay, in addition to all the charges of the importation and exportation of the immigrants. Let those who consider Coolie immigration a God-send, ponder the report of the *Gazette* already quoted.—*Emery's Journal*.

Since our last summary was penned (says the journal above quoted), a rather complicated scheme of school and industrial instruction, concocted by Dr. Kay Shuttleworth, has been put before the public, in a despatch of Earl Grey.

"1. It proposes to force parents to send their children to the schools provided for their instruction. We know enough of the people of this colony, to predict with certainty, that such an enactment as this would be exceedingly unpalatable—would be, and that very properly—passively disobeyed in far more cases than it would be obeyed. The Government has no right to force either its religion or its education upon the people, and unless the inhabitants of this colony have far less sense and spirit than we give them credit for, no Government, either imperial or local, would be able to put such a measure into successful operation. This feature of Grey's educational scheme will never be tolerated. But there is another grave objection to the affair.

"2. It is to be sustained by an additional—a DIRECT TAX. Putting aside the manifest impolicy of adding to the intolerable burden already falling upon the poor 'ground-to-the-dust-tax-payers,' there would be an objection to pay any such tax on the part of no small number, who are already provided with the means of education, and who would very naturally grudge being obliged to pay for what would afford them no benefit.

True, this sort of thing is now being enacted on a large and expensive scale in reference to religion. Thousands, besides supporting their own clergy, are unjustly compelled to pay towards the alimentation of the clergy of others. This is felt to be a sore grievance that ought to be redressed, and this is not the time to add to it another system of gross injustice.

"3. But the proposed educational system is to be, as a matter of course, under Government control. As supported by the public revenue it manifestly should be. But this would be utterly fatal to the thing as an efficient system of education. We have seen what a miserable concern Government has made of its pet scheme of religion, and we have no right to conclude, that its operations in the way of education would be better managed."

TRINIDAD.—On Sunday last eighty-five Madeirans arrived in the American brig *Josephine*, and upwards of a hundred more are daily expected. The case of these immigrants is invested with deep interest to the Christian, the moralist, and the politician. Religious intolerance has been wound up to the highest pitch in Madeira. There, a Portuguese subject may neither worship, nor believe otherwise than the law directs. To speak and act as scripture and conscience dictate, subjects to imprisonment, or banishment, or death. Among those who arrived on Sunday, we understand there was an elderly female who was condemned to death for denouncing, or simply denying one of the articles of the state religion. Her sentence was commuted to imprisonment, because it was found that she had only committed *blasphemy* against the Virgin, but was not guilty of apostacy.

Land Tax.—Rumour says that the Attorney-General is about to request the Legislative Council to sanction a land-tax ordinance prepared by him, which will greatly oppress, if not absolutely ruin, our small landed proprietors. We do trust that rumour will be found lying in this matter. But we frankly confess that we dread every ordinance drawn by the present Attorney-General. And so do the public. He has done more than enough to cause mental ague in every honest Trinidadian, on hearing of a forthcoming ordinance of his framing. His memorial is secure for many a long year without a marble monument. But we shall not further remark on him and his official legal progeny till we see the expected land-tax ordinance, or learn that no such instrument is in preparation.—*Ib.*

ST. LUCIA.—We are happy to observe that our St. Lucia neighbours, who, like ourselves, are destitute of the privileges of a British constitution, are rousing themselves to a proper feeling on the subject. A public meeting has been held, and resolutions, which we subjoin, were unanimously adopted:—

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.—At a public meeting of the inhabitants of St. Lucia, convened by Charles De Brettes, Esq., and held at the Court House, in Castries, on Saturday the 20th of February, 1847, Charles De Brettes, Esq., in the chair.

Moved by R. S. Robinson, Esq., seconded by D. Meinvile, Esq.; it was unanimously resolved—

"1. That the period is arrived when the inhabitants of St. Lucia may look with confidence to their gracious Sovereign for the reward of their past faithful and zealous obedience to the constitution which has governed the colony since it became a portion of the British dominions; and that under the superintendence of her present enlightened Colonial Ministers, Her Majesty will now grant her faithful subjects in St. Lucia a participation in the rights and privileges enjoyed by all their fellow subjects inhabiting the sister colonies, with the exception only of Demerara and Trinidad."

Moved by C. De Laubenque, Esq., seconded by B. Lacorbiniere, Esq.—

"2. That the confidence of the inhabitants of St. Lucia, in the gracious disposition of Her Majesty to grant their ardent desire for the great boon of representative government, is strengthened by witnessing the very recent grant of a royal charter to the colony of New Zealand, conferring liberal institutions; and also by the measures now in progress in the sister colony of Trinidad, under the guidance of Lord Harris, sanctioned by Her Majesty's Secretary of State, Earl Grey, changing the constitution of that Crown Colony, and giving the inhabitants a large proportion of those rights and privileges which every British subject justly regards as his dearest birthright."

Moved by G. Leuger, Esq., seconded by R. Muter, Esq.

"3. That for the purpose of more effectually bringing the earnest wishes and wants of the inhabitants of St. Lucia under the immediate attention of Her Majesty's Government, it is expedient and necessary that the inhabitants elect a standing committee, to which they will delegate authority to prepare all necessary memorials, and carry on all such correspondence, as may be required to convey to the foot of the throne the prayers of the people."

Moved by G. Cotter, Esq., seconded by P. Leuger, Esq., it was resolved—

"4. That Mr. Charles Brettes (Chairman), Dr. R. S. Robinson, Messrs. C. De Laubenque, J. J. Beausoleil, G. Leuger, Xr. St. Martin, and A. Aubert, are requested to act as such committee, to which they wi-

delegate authority to act for their fellow subjects for the purpose of carrying out the object of these resolutions."

On Charles De Brettes, Esq., retiring, the chair was taken by G. Leuger, Esq., and it was moved by G. Cotter, Esq., seconded by R. S. Robinson, Esq.—

"That the thanks of the meeting are due to Charles De Brettes, Esq., for the able manner in which he performed the duty of chairman of the meeting."

MUTER MILLER, Honorary Secretary.

BARBADOES.—We are happy to be able to state, for the information of our friends abroad, says the *West Indian* of March 22nd, that the weather, for some time past, has been most propitious for crop purposes. Steady winds have enabled the planter to proceed without any interruption to his boiling process, and a large proportion of the crop, for the season of the year, has been reaped. The return is also abundant. Three hogsheads of sugar to the acre, sometimes more, have not been a rare occurrence. The quality of the sugar is, generally speaking, excellent. These circumstances, with the advantages which have been ceded to the Colonies by the Imperial Parliament, have inspired the agriculturist with new hopes, and given a fresh impetus to their efforts. The produce shipped, to date, amounts to 7,441 hogsheads, 292 tierces, 390 barrels sugar; 128 puncheons, one barrel molasses; 131 packages arrowroot; 346 bales cotton; the barque *Randolph*, Captain Campbell, leaves the bay to-morrow morning with a cargo of molasses, exclusively; and many of the vessels now loading will soon be ready for the homeward voyage.

ST. VINCENT.—The weather continues favourable for sugar-making, and we understand that the process is proceeding as rapidly as the limited labouring force of the estates will permit. During the week there have been some slight showers in the night, which must be refreshing and advantageous to the plants in this warm weather. Our Carriacou correspondent writes—"We are very busy making sugar, for which the weather is eminently favourable, and the yield in the boiling-house is good.

The ship *Eliza*, Captain Jones, arrived yesterday from Madeira, with 154 immigrants, all healthy. They have been all taken up, but can only be located on the most healthy estates, according to the provisions of the immigration act lately passed. This is the fourth voyage Capt. Jones has made from Madeira, bringing into the island about 700 valuable labourers, for which the community at large, but particularly the planters, ought to feel much indebted to him.

MAURITIUS.—*The State of Coolie Immigration.*—The miserable drivellings of the *Mauritian* about the happy condition of the Indian labourers in this island are equally beneath notice as arguments, as they are beneath contempt under a literary point of view. At the same time we may take up the question, not less imprudently than unskillfully broached by our contemporary, and institute an intelligible comparison of the state of our labourers with that of their class in other and less favoured climates. We begin by affirming

1. That the mortality of the Indians exceeds that of any other known class of healthy labourers in the world.
2. That their rations of food, and other conditions of salubrity they enjoy, are barely sufficient to support the labouring man's strength and guard off disease.
3. That under accidental circumstances inevitable to our present system, numbers of them do actually fall sick and die through the want of sufficiently nutritious food and protective measures.

1. With regard to our first proposition we are well aware that no statistical returns exist for ascertaining with accuracy the average mortality of the immigrants. The calculations made in the celebrated *Immigration Report of February, 1845*, contain so many elements of error that the average its authors give may be viewed as little better than a pure fiction. That report gives as the return of deaths upon the first immigration of 24,566 men, 3,820 from 1834, when the immigration commenced, to 1843 (exclusive of that year) when the second immigration commenced. Then, to account for the original number the report states that 9,446 returned to India, 7,700 remained under engagement and about 3,000 may be supposed engaged about Port Louis not under contracts. This would leave 600 unaccounted for. But the supposition of 3,000 being occupied without engagements is a mere guess, and so many of the 7,700 may be entered twice or three times on the different magistrates' books by the expiration of their engagements at all periods of the year, and by many of them marooning and changing their names, that that estimate is totally unworthy of credit. There are, in fact, but two accurate data with regard to these Indians of the first immigration:—the number arriving, and the number returning to India; and these numbers were 24,566, against 9,446, up to 1844, a period of ten years; and this leaves 15,110 unaccounted for; and although we can conclude nothing certain from these data, in

regard to the mortality, we cannot but observe that little more than one-third of the Indians who leave India in the hope of making a fortune here, ever return to their native country; for we have not included the deaths on the two voyages, and the number of the last immigration included in the 9,447, which, together, would more than compensate for the excess of that number over the third of 24,566. And we happen to know from the Savings' Bank returns, that of those who do return, not more than one-third take back an average of \$50 each. Thus about one in nine accomplish the object for which they left their native shores; and two-thirds of them leave their wives for ever widows, and their children orphans—a not very encouraging view of this philanthropic system of immigration, as carried on in the first instance. But the immigration report furnishes for one year, 1844, more accurate data for the mortality of that year. There were at that time in the island, 48,224 Indian labourers; the returns of deaths were 3,690, which evidently did not comprise the total, being estimated upon the contract returns from estates; which, by Table No. XVII. of the report, comprised 6,959 of the first immigration, and 27,074 of the second, equal to 34,033; and many of these, doubtless, returned double and treble, by renewal of contracts. We may safely, therefore, take the total deaths of 1844 at 4,000 upon a population, in round numbers, of 40,000, making the mortality 10 per cent. Now will the editor of the *Mauritian*, whose only talent is a certain tact for compilation, please to inform us whether the average deaths in England amongst labourers between twenty-five or thirty years of age is 2 or 3 per cent.? We admit the mortality of 1844 was peculiarly severe "*among the Indians*"; but it was not more than double an ordinary year.

2. We now come to the second proposition regarding food:—As to quantity and quality.

The principal articles of food are 1½ lb. rice per diem, and 1lb. of salt fish, with sometimes 2lb. of peas (dholl), a few ounces of ghee, and a little curry powder, to which a few wild herbs from the cane-fields are occasionally added by the more intelligent Indians. Now it is a scientific truth abundantly established and illustrated by Liebig, in his late work on *Animal Chemistry*, that a certain portion of nitrogenous or azotized elements of food is indispensable to supply the waste of the animal body occasioned by labour and movement; and it is absolutely certain that rice, consisting of pure starch, contains not a particle of nitrogenous constituents, and will not of itself support life. Now the bread as well as all the other materials of this bill of fare, contain gluten or nitrogen in some other form; whilst our Indian can only extract that substance from his two ounces of salt fish, and his dholl and herbs, if he has any.

3. Still, we believe he might live in strong health, but for two accidents of weekly occurrence on, perhaps, every estate in the island. Firstly, his frequently selling or bartering his ration of fish, which is very improperly only given out weekly; and, secondly, his sometimes rejecting and throwing away, or wasting it, because the quality is really bad, or does not suit his palate. We do not make the planter responsible. It too often happens that, being deeply in debt, he is obliged to accept such provisions for his labourers as the creditor or commissioner sends out. The poor Indian imagines that if he distends his stomach with a full meal of rice he can take no harm; whilst demonstrative science shows that starch alone, in whatever quantity, will not support life. Hence his *Bengal fever* and premature decay in the vigour of life. He comes to the hospitals with glassy eyes, and feverish blood, and tottering limbs, the result, as the scientific members of the medical profession well know, of a want of sufficiently nourishing food for his constitution.—*Sentinelle*.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—In our advertising columns (says the *Cape of Good Hope Shipping and Mercantile Gazette*, of 5th March, 1847), will be found the prospectus of an association for planting cotton on an extended scale at Natal—a subject of great importance, not only to our sister colonies, but to Great Britain. The subscription list, we are happy to find, is being filled up in a very spirited manner.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

| | Donations. | Subscriptions. |
|--|------------|----------------|
| <i>London.</i> —Gurney, Samuel..... | 100 0 0 | |
| A Friend, by Josiah Forster..... | 100 0 0 | |
| Southwark Ladies' Negro Friend and Anti-Slavery Society | 7 0 0 | |
| <i>Saffron Walden.</i> —Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society | 22 0 0 | |
| <i>Coalbrookdale.</i> —Graham, Thomas | | 2 0 0 |
| Rose, Ann | | 0 10 0 |
| Ward, John | | 0 5 0 |
| <i>Whitehaven.</i> —Peile, George | | 1 1 0 |
| <i>Ufford.</i> —Beaumont, John | | 1 0 0 |